ANG PANITIKAN NG PAMBANSANG DEMOKRASYA

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I

ANG PANITIKAN NG PAMBANSANG DEMOKRASYA

Ang Panitikan at Rebolusyon

ANG PANITIKANG PAMBANSA–DEMOKRATIKO ay ang pagsasakatuparan ng mahigpit na ugnayan ng panitikan at lipunan sa ating panahon. Para sa isang nagbabagong lipunang tulad ng Pilipinas, kailangan ang isang bagong panitikang nagsusulong ng pinakamatatayog na layunin ng mamamayan para sa pambansang kalayaan, demokrasya at kaunlaran. Pinagkakaisa nito ang pinakamalawak na mamamayan batay sa mga layuning ito, at pinakikilos sila para maganap ang lubos na pagbabago sa buhay-pampulitika, -pang-ekonomya at -pangkultura ng bansa.

Ang rebolusyonaryong kilusang pambansa-demokratiko ay nakatuon sa pagpapabagsak sa imperyalismong US, pyudalismo at burukratang kapitalismo na patuloy na naghahari sa lipunang malakolonyal at malapyudal. Sa pamamagitan ng matagalang digmang bayan, pinauunlad ang kilusang masa ng mga anakpawis sa nayon at lunsod, armadong pakikibaka at lokal na organo ng kapangyarihang pampulitika ng mamamayan. Ang pangunahing nilalaman ng kilusang ito ay ang pagpapatupad sa demokratikong kahilingan para sa lupa ng mahirap na magbubukid, na bumubuo ng pinakamalaking bahagi ng populasyon ng bansa. Ang pagpapa-

laya sa magbubukid mula sa pyudalismo at malapyudalismo, ang batayang panlipunan ng imperyalismong US, ang pangunahing salik sa pagpapaunlad ng kanayunan at ng buong bansa.

Samantala, inilulunsad ng mga manggagawa sa lunsod ang kilusang welga batay sa mga kahilingang pang-ekonomya at pampulitika, at isinusulong ang hangarin para sa pambansang industrialisasyon. Ang mga uring manggagawa at magbubukid ang bumubuo ng saligang alyansa sa rebolusyon; ang uring manggagawa ang gumaganap ng namumunong papel sa loob ng alyansang ito.

Ang mga panggitnang pwersa (estudyante, propesyunal, guro, taongsimbahan, makabayang negosyante) ay kumikilos batay sa mga demokratikong interes at kahilingan ng kanilang sektor na sinasagka ng imperyalismong US at mga lokal na galamay nito, at sumusuporta sa pakikibaka ng mga batayang uri.

Ang pamumunong pang-organisasyon, pampulitika at pang-ideolohia ng rebolusyong pambansa-demokratiko ay hawak ng proletaryado. Tinawag itong bagong tipo sapagkat, bagamat ipinagpapatuloy nito ang mga adhikaing antikolonyal at antipyudal ng Rebolusyong 1896, ang pamumuno nito ay wala na sa kamay ng liberal burgesya, at ito'y bahagi na ng pandaigdigang rebolusyong proletaryo at nasa maagang yugto ng rebolusyong sosyalista sa Pilipinas.

Ang pagsulong ng rebolusyong pambansa-demokratiko sa loob ng mahigit dalawampung taon ay sumasagisag sa kawastuhan nito. Sa panahon ng diktadurang rehimeng US-Marcos, sumulong ang kilusang masa at armadong pakikibaka sa lunsod at nayon ng buong kapuluan sa harap ng mga kampanyang pagkubkob at paglipol, pagbabawal sa mga karapatang sibil, at laganap na kahirapan. Patuloy itong isinusulong sa kasalukuyang paghaharing US-Aquino sapagkat tulad ng nakaraang rehimen, hinahadlangan nito ang pambansa at demokratikong mga kahilingan ng mamamayan, at ibayong sinusupil ang pagkilos sa pamamagitan ng programang lahatang-panig na gera o total war na pakana at ipinatutupad ng imperyalismong US sa mga kolonya at malakolonya nito sa Ikatlong Daigdig.

Ang panitikang pambansa-demokratiko ay bahagi ng pag-unlad na ito, pag-unlad na nakabatay sa pagsisilbi sa interes ng mga rebolusyonaryo at progresibong uri at sektor sa bansa. Kaiba sa namamayaning panitikang kolonyal, pyudal at elitista, na nagpapanatili sa kaayusang panlipunan at kumukontra sa pundamental na pagbabago, isinusulong ng panitikang

pambansa-demokratiko ang mithiin para sa pagbabago ng nakararaming mamamayan, at pinagkakaisa sila para kumilos tungo sa pagkakamit ng kanilang mithiin. Batay sa rebolusyonaryong makauring paninindigan, pangunahing pinagsisilbihan ng panitikang ito ang mga manggagawa at magbubukid, gayundin ang kanilang kaalyado sa hanay ng mga panggitnang pwersa.

Paano nagsisilbi ang panitikang ito?

Una, sa pamamagitan ng Kilusang Propaganda. Sa anumang rebolusyon, bago ito ilunsad at laluna sa panahong ito'y isinasagawa na, kinakailangan ang isang kilusang propagandang magbabando at magpapalaganap sa pinakamalawak na masa ng mga adhikain, paraan, pwersa at programa nito, at makapagmomobilisa sa kanila batay sa mga pangkalahatan at partikular na mga panawagan. Ang bisa ng propaganda ay nakabatay sa napapanahong mga panawagan, kahandaan ng mamamayan sa pagkilos, at pangkalahatang pag-igting ng rebolusyon at reaksyon.

At ikalawa, sa pamamagitan ng Rebolusyong Pangkultura. Samantalang pangunahing nakatuon ang kilusang propaganda sa pagpukaw at pagmomobilisa sa mamamayan batay sa mga panawagang pampulitika, nakatuon naman ang rebolusyong pangkultura sa pagpapalaya sa isip at damdamin sa gapos ng reaksyunaryong kultura at ideolohia at sa gayo'y makakilos tungo sa pagbabago. Binabasag nito ang mga kaisipan at damdaming kolonyal, pyudal at elitista at binubuo ang mga kaisipan at damdaming pambansa, syentipiko at pangmasa. Nagaganap ang rebolusyong pangkultura kasabay ng rebolusyong pampulitika para ihanda ang mamamayang makapamuno sa larangan ng pulitika, ekonomya at kultura.

Sa pamamagitan ng dalawang mahalaga at magkaugnay na mekanismong ito, naisasakatuparan ng panitikang pambansa-demokratiko ang tungkulin nito sa popularisasyon at pagtataas ng pamantayan. Laging magkasama ang dalawang panuntunang ito, bagamat sa lahat ng panahon ay nangunguna ang papel ng popularisasyon, na siyang tumitiyak sa pagkamalapit ng panitikang pambansa-demokratiko sa masang pinagsisilbihan nito.

Ang panitikang pambansa-demokratiko ay bahagi ng bagong panitikang bayan; ang una, sa katunayan, ang nagbibigay ng pangunahing katangian ng huli. Sa pamumuno ng panitikang pambansa-demokratiko, pinauunlad ang tradisyunal na panitikan para maiayon ito sa pangangailangan ng masa, at ang progresibong panitikan ng mga manunulat mula sa

mga panggitnang pwersa. Bahagi rin ng bagong panitikang bayan ang naunang panitikang bayang nalikha mula noong Rebolusyong 1896, at ang rebolusyonaryo at progresibong panitikan mula sa ibang bansa, laluna mula sa mga sosyalistang bansa at mga bansang naglulunsad ng pakikibaka laban sa imperyalismong US, pyudalismo, burukratang kapitalismo, rasismo, atbp.

Kasaysayan ng Pag-unlad

Ang naglatag ng batayan sa pagpapasimula ng panitikang pambansa-demokratiko ay ang panlipunang pagsisiyasat sa lipunan at rebolusyong Pilipino, ang muling pagkakatatag ng Communist Party of the Philippines, at ang pagkakatatag ng Bagong Hukbong Bayan noong ikalawang hati ng dekada 60, gayundin ang partikular na pagsusuri sa kalagayan ng sining at panitikan sa lipunang malakolonyal at malapyudal. Nagsimulang lumahok ang mga kabataan at propesyunal na manunulat at kanilang organisasyon sa pagpukaw, pag-oorganisa at pagpapakilos sa mamamayan para sa pambansang demokrasya sa pamamagitan ng kanilang sulatin, at nakiisa sa batayang masa bilang pagpapatupad ng panuntunang "Mula sa masa, tungo sa masa." Ang pagkilos ng mga manunulat na ito-ay nakapag-ambag sa tagumpay ng kilusang propaganda na rumurok sa Unang Rebolusyonaryong Sigwa noong unang bahagi ng 1970.

Pagkapataw ng batas militar noong Setyembre 21, 1972 at sa buong panahon ng paghahari ng diktadurang US-Marcos, ang panitikang pambansang-demokratiko ay umunlad at lumaganap sa nayon at lunsod sa buong kapuluan. Ang batayan ng pag-unlad na ito ay ang paglaganap at paglakas ng armadong pakikibaka at kilusang masang magbubukid sa kanayunan, at kilusang welga ng manggagawa at hayag na kilusang masa ng iba't ibang sektor sa kalunsuran.

Sa mga larangang gerilya, ginampanan ng mga kadre at Pulang mandirigma ang gawaing pampanitikan bilang instrumento sa pagpapatatag at pagpapalawak ng kanilang hanay, at sa pagpukaw, pag-oorganisa at pagpapakilos sa masang magbubukid. Ang panitikan ng mga Pulang mandirigma ang pangunahing daluyan ng mga prinsipyo ng Marxismo-Leninismo-Kaisipang Mao Zedong sa dahilang ang Bagong Hukbong Bayan ang pangunahing organisasyon ng partido at napapailalim sa pampulitikang pamu-

muno nito. Ang pag-unlad at paglawak ng mga organisasyong magbubukid ay isa pang mahalagang salik sa pagpapaunlad ng panitikang pambansa-demokratiko. Nakabatay sa pangangailangan ng kanilang pakikibaka sa iba't ibang larangan sa kanayunan ang panitikang nilikha mismo ng mga manunulat sa kanilang hanay.

Sa mga lunsod, ang panitikang pambansa-demokratiko ay umunlad sa pamamagitan ng pagsisilbi sa armadong pakikibaka at kilusang masang magbubukid, sa kilusang welga ng manggagawa, at sa kilusan ng mga panggitnang pwersa. Ang pagbwelo ng malawakang hayag na kilusang masa ng iba't ibang sektor ang nagbigay ng kalagayan para sa muling pagsigla ng panitikang pambansa-demokratiko sa lunsod. Naging daluyan ng panitikang ito ang mga aksyong masa, masmidya, at organisasyon at institusyong bayan na nagpapahalaga sa sining at panitikang nagpapasigla sa kilusang masa. Sa mga panahon ding ito lumabas ang mga publikasyong tulad ng *Kamao*, *Ulos*, at mga koleksyon ng mga kwento, tula, likhang biswal at kanta mula sa kanayunan.

Sa kasalukuyang paghahari ng rehimeng US-Aquino, ang panitikang pambansa-demokratiko ay instrumento sa paglalantad sa tunay na katangiang maka-imperyalista at anti-mamamayan ng rehimeng kompradorasendero. Sa kanayunan at kalunsuran, patuloy na umuunlad at lumalaganap ang panitikang ito. Mula o batay sa kanayunan ang mga kwento at tulang lumabas sa *Clearing*, *Kabanbanuagan*, *Bukal ng Tubig at Apoy*, *Sa Tungki ng Ilong ng Kaaway*, at iba pa. Sa kalunsuran, sa harap ng isteryang anti-komunismo at pag-aarmas sa mga vigilante, sumigla ang pagkilos ng mga manunulat, tulad ng pagkakalabas ng mga komiks para sa mga manggagawa *(Breaktime)* at magbubukid *(Gapas Komiks)*, libro o pamplet ng mga tula, kwento at sanaysay tungkol sa mga Pulang mandirigma *(Negros)*, manggagawa't magbubukid *(Kalipunan ng mga Akda ng Anakpawis*, *Butong Binhi)*, mangingisda *(Ang Magandang Babae sa Sta. Elena)*, teyp ng mga bagong kantang pangmasa, atbp.

Sa panahon ding ito nabuo ang mga pambansa at panrehiyong organisasyon para sa rebolusyonaryong sining at panitikan bilang bahagi ng partikular na kilusang masa sa hanay ng mga artista't manunulat at kaalyado nila mula sa mga panggitnang pwersa. May mapagpasyang kahalagahan ang mga organisasyong ito para sa pagpaparami, pagpapalawak at pagpapahusay ng mga rebolusyonaryong manunulat at kanilang likha sa lunsod at nayon.

Mga Salik sa Pag-unlad

Ang sumusunod ang mga salik sa pag-unlad ng panitikang pambansa-demokratiko: (1) ang rebolusyonaryong kilusang masa at armadong pakikibaka, (2) ang mga manunulat, (3) ang pagpapalaganap, (4) ang odyens, (5) ang lenggwahe, (6) ang panunuring pampanitikan, at (7) ang pamumuno.

(1) Ang rebolusyonaryong kilusang masa at armadong pakikibaka. Kung wala ang salik na ito, walang batayan ang pag-unlad ng panitikang pambansa-demokratiko, una, dahil ang istorikong pagkilos na ito ng mamamayan tungo sa mapagpasyang pagbabago ng lipunan ang pangunahing pinagsisilbihan ng panitikang pambansa-demokratiko, at ikalawa, dahil ito ang mayamang bukal ng karanasan, damdamin at kaisipan at hangarin ng nakikibakang mamamayan sa ating panahon. Tungkulin ng manunulat na lagumin ang hiwa-hiwalay, iba-iba at kumplikadong karanasan ng masa sa pakikibaka sa nayon at lunsod sa pamamagitan ng panitikan para makatulong sa pagkatuto sa sarili nilang karanasan.

(2) Ang manunulat. Ang mga manunulat ng panitikang pambansa-demokratiko ay mula sa hanay ng mga organisadong manggagawa't magbubukid, kadre, Pulang mandirigma, at petiburges ng lunsod. Nakatanggap sila ng edukasyong pampulitika, mahigpit na nakaugnay sa masa o kaya'y direktang nakikipag-ugnayan sa kanila sa pana-panahon, patuloy na pinag-aaralan ang kalagayan sa lugar na kinikilusan o gawaing ginagampanan, ang kalagayan ng buong kilusan, at ang kalagayan sa loob at labas ng bansa, at patuloy na hinahasa ang kaalaman sa sining at panitikan.

Batay sa larangang kinikilusan ng manunulat, ang kanyang pagsusulat ay part-time na gawain lamang, ibig sabihin, kung may libreng panahon siya at nangangailangan ng likhang pampanitikan ang isang aksyong masa, pulong-pag-aaral o selebrasyon; o kaya'y buong-panahong gawain, tulad ng mga manunulat na nasa gawaing propaganda, patnugutan ng publikasyong masa, o organisasyon ng mga manunulat. Maaaring ang pagsusulat ay batay sa isang programa ng kolektibo, o kaya'y sariling inisyatiba bilang paraan ng personal na pagpapahayag ng damdamin o paglalagom ng karanasan.

(3) Ang pagpapalaganap. Ang pagpapalaganap ng panitikan sa kanayunan ay pangunahing sa pamamagitan ng pahayagang masa sa rehiyon, komiks, songbuk at teyp, at tanghalan. Ang Bagong Hukbong

Bayan at mga organisasyong masang magbubukid ang mga pwersa sa pagpapalaganap ng mga likha tuwing may okasyon o kahit sa pang-araw-araw na pagkilos at pamumuhay.

Sa lunsod, ang pagpapalaganap ay sa pamamagitan ng mga dyaryo o komiks na pang-manggagawa, tanghalan, libro, pelikula, at publikasyong nililimbag ng mga institusyong bayan, unibersidad, negosyante, at kahit gubyerno.

Naipapalaganap sa kanayunan ang mga likhang mula lunsod, at bisebersa. Pinabibilis ang pagpapalitan sa pamamagitan ng mga pambansang publikasyong bayan, pagsasalin o adaptasyon, at pag-ugnay sa masa ng mga kadre at aktibista.

(4) Odyens. Ang odyens ng panitikang pambansa-demokratiko ay ang masang anakpawis at Pulang mandirigma sa mga larangang gerilya, mga manggagawa sa pabrika at mahirap ng lunsod, mga estudyante't propesyunal, at mga kaalyado mula sa mga panggitnang pwersa. Sa kanayunan, masiglang tinatanggap ng masang anakpawis ang panitikang ito, laluna sa pormang pabigkas, itinatanghal o isinasakomiks, dahil sinasalamin nito ang kanilang kalagayan, at dahil pinupunan nito ang kasalatan sa kanilang edukasyon at buhay-pangkultura.

Isang sukatan sa pagtanggap ng panitikang pambansa-demokratiko ng masang anakpawis ay ang madaling pagkilala nila sa mga tauhan, pangyayari, problema, atbp. na nakalarawan sa panitikan, kahit ang mga ito'y nakabatay sa karanasan ng mga pwersa sa ibang lugar.

Samantala, ang pagpapaunlad ng odyens para sa panitikang pambansa-demokratiko mula sa mga panggitnang pwersa, laluna ang mga intelektwal, ay isang mahalagang gawain sa lunsod, para makamit ang kanilang suporta, una, sa pakikibakang masa, at ikalawa, sa pagpapalaganap at ibayong pagpapahusay ng panitikang ito.

(5) Lenggwahe. Bilang panitikang pangmasa, ang panitikang pambansa-demokratiko ay gumagamit ng lenggwaheng popular sa iba't ibang rehiyon ng bansa. Sapagkat ang rebolusyonaryong manunulat ay direktang nakaugnay sa masang kanyang kinikilusan, natural lamang na ang kanilang lenggwahe ang kanyang gamitin sa pakikipagtalastasan sa kanila sa pamamagitan ng panitikan. Lalong napapalapit sa masa ang obra kung ang mismong porma ng panitikan ay bahagi ng kanilang tradisyunal na kultura. Sa ganito, naiaayon ang pag-unlad ng lenggwahe sa mga rehiyon batay sa mga katangian at pangangailangan ng rebolusyon.

Kasabay ng paggamit ng lenggwahe sa mga rehiyon, pinopopularisa rin ang paggamit ng Pilipino bilang pambansang wika. Ipinalalaganap sa iba't ibang rehiyon ang mga obrang nasusulat sa Pilipino. Ang popular na mga obrang nasusulat sa lokal na lenggwahe ay isinasalin sa Pilipino para mas madaling isalin sa iba namang lokal na lenggwahe. Ang aktibong paggamit ng mga lokal at pambansang lenggwahe, ang hiraman ng mga salita at ekspresyon bilang paraan ng pagpapayaman sa bukabularyo ng mga lenggwahe, at ang sistematisasyon, laluna sa ispeling ng karaniwang terminong ginagamit sa kilusan, ay mga salik sa pagpapaunlad ng mga lenggwahe sa bansa.

Patuloy na ginagamit ang Ingles. Para sa ilang mga manunulat na kadre at Pulang mandirigma, ang Ingles pa rin ang pinakamahusay nilang magagamit sa kanilang pagsusulat, at may mahalagang seksyon pa rin ng mambabasa mula sa mga panggitnang pwersa, bukod pa sa mga mapagkaibigang dayuhan, na naaabot ng panitikang ito. Ang mga likhang kinakailangang maipaabot sa mga mambabasa sa batayang masa ay isinasalin sa Pilipino at lenggwahe sa mga rehiyon.

(6) Panunuring pampanitikan. Ang panunuring pampanitikan ay isang paraan para maiayon ang panitikan sa pangangailangan ng rebolusyon, batay sa kawastuhan ng pampulitikang punto de vistá nito sa nilalaman, at sa kasiningan. Ito ay isinasagawa ng kolektibo o organisasyong kinapapalooban ng manunulat, ng patnugutan ng publikasyong masa, istap sa propaganda at/o organisadong masa. Ginagawa ito bago magsimula sa pagsusulat, sa panahon ng pagsusulat, pagkatapos ng pagsusulat, at/o pagkalimbag o anupamang paraan ng pagpapalaganap.

Ang panunuring pampanitikan ay maaaring magresulta sa pagtanggal ng obra sa sirkulasyon, o kaya'y ng madalas at malawak na paglilimbag o iba't ibang pagsasalin o adaptasyon at kung gayo'y nagkakaroon ng impluwensya sa paglikha ng ibang manunulat.

(7) Pamumuno. Ang pamumuno sa larangan ng panitikan ay nakabatay sa pangkalahatang linyang pampulitika, programa at patakaran ng kilusang pambansa-demokratiko. Ito ay pinapartikularisa sa antas ng sektor, rehiyon at pambansa batay sa kalagayan, pangangailangan, at kakayahan ng kilusan sa pana-panahon. Kabilang sa gawaing pamumuno ang pag-oorganisa sa mga manunulat at pagbibigay ng pag-aaral sa pulitika, organisasyon, ideolohia at sining; pag-iimbistiga sa pag-unlad ng gawain sa iba't ibang antas at lugar ng pagkilos; pagsusuri at pagpapalaganap ng mahuhusay na akda; at paglalagom ng karanasan.

Ang mga Katangian ng Panitikang Pambansa-Demokratiko

Batay sa pampulitikang layunin ng rebolusyong pambansa-demokratiko, papel ng panitikan sa rebolusyon, kalagayang pampulitika, pangkultura, pang-ideolohia at pang-organisasyon ng mga manunulat at odyens, at pangkalahatang kalagayan ng bansa sa panahon ng rebolusyon at reaksyon, tumatampok ang ilang katangian ng bagong panitikan, tulad ng sumusunod:

(1) Ang pagka-kagyat. Ang katangiang ito ay karaniwan sa mga obrang nililikha para sa partikular na aksyong masa bilang bahagi sa pagpukaw at pagmomobilisa sa mamamayan para sa napapanahong usaping lokal o pambansa. Nilalaman ng ganitong mga obra ang direktang panawagan at matitingkad na karanasan ng masa sa lugar. Ang porma ay maiksi, payak at nakabatay sa mga pormang tradisyunal o popular.

Ang katangiang ito ay bunga ng mabilisang paggawa, kakayahan ng manunulat, at layunin ng obra para sa okasyon.

Ito rin ang katangian ng mga obrang nililikha para sa mga kampanyang masa o militar na tumatagal nang mahaba-habang panahon, halimbawa'y kampanya sa pagtatayo ng kooperatiba, pagpapahusay ng kalusugan, pagbaka sa kamangmangan, o paglulunsad ng opensibang taktikal. O ng mga obrang nililikha para sa pagsasaya (rebolusyonaryong kasalan, aniber-saryo ng mga dakilang araw, pagtatapos ng kumperensya), pagpupugay sa mga martir, at pagbabalita ng pinakahuling pangyayari sa lugar.

Ito ang panitikang paulit-ulit na nililikha, binabago, isinasaisantabi at pinapalitan. Ang kalagayang ito ay indikasyon ng kasiglahan ng kilusang masa sa nayon at lunsod.

(2) Ang katangiang oral o pabigkas. Ang panitikang oral ay bahagi ng tradisyunal na kulturang laganap sa kanayunan. Sa isang banda, sinasagisag ng panitikang oral ang yaman ng kulturang bayan na umunlad at napanatili sa loob ng nakaraang ilang dantaon. Sa kabilang banda, ang pamamayani ng oral na tradisyong ito, na karaniwan sa di mauunlad na bansa sa Ikatlong Daigdig, ay tanda ng pagkaatrasado, kahirapan at kamangmangan sa kanayunan, pagkakahiwalay sa pag-unlad ng lunsod at nayon, ng bago at luma, ng makabago at tradisyunal na manggagawang pangkultura.

Sa panitikang panbansa-demokratiko, ang oral na tradisyong ito ay nagsisilbing bukal ng mga kaisipan, damdamin at porma ng pamamahayag

na binibigyan ng bagong gamit at kahulugan para tumugon sa kasalukuyang pangangailangan ng masa at rebolusyon. Sa ganitong paraan, nagbabagong-buhay ang mga tradisyunal na anyo at nilalaman ng kulturang masa, tulad ng salidum-ay, oggayam, balitaw, komposo, balagtasan, ismayling at leleng, at nagiging bahagi ng rebolusyonaryong kultura.

Iniimpluwensyahan din ng oral na tradisyong ito ang nakasulat na panitikan sa paggamit ng lenggwahe, talinghaga, porma at proseso ng paglalahad. Sa pagsasalubong ng moderno at tradisyunal na panitikan, naiwawaksi ang suhetibismo, sentimentalismo at indibidwalistang pananaw, at tumitingkad ang pagkamakatotohanan, realismo at pangmasang pananaw, sumasabog ang matitigas na distinksyong akademiko tungkol sa mga porma, atbp.

(3) Ang pagiging kongkreto. Ang mayamang karanasan ng masa sa pagrerebolusyon sa loob ng nakaraang mahigit dalawang dekada ang batayan ng pagiging kongkreto ng pinakamahuhusay na obrang pampanitikan ng pambansang demokrasya. Nilulutas nito ang problema ng mga sulating abstrakto, simboliko, karikatura, alegoriko, pangkalahatan at isteryotipiko. Ngayon, hindi kataka-takang ang mga manunulat ay nakapagsusulat ng mga obrang kongkreto, batay sa sarili nilang karanasan sa kilusang masa sa mahaba-habang panahon, o kaya'y sa pagsasagawa ng imbestigasyong panlipunan sa iba't ibang aspeto ng buhay ng nakikibakang masa mula sa iba't ibang larangan ng gawain.

Para sa rebolusyonaryong manunulat, ang pagsasanib ng empirikal na datos at ng pangkalahatang pampulitikang tunguhin ng rebolusyon ang pangunahing katangian ng pagiging kongkreto ng obra, at sa ganitong kalagayan lamang ng obra may kakayanan itong magluwal ng heneralisasyon. Kung wala ang ganitong pagsasanib, ang obra ay nagsisilbing ilustrasyon lamang ng local color o ng kakitiran ng empirisistang pagtingin sa mga bagay-bagay.

(4) Ang pagiging simple. Ang pagiging simple ay walang kinalaman sa kaiksian at mala-balangkas na porma ng sulatin, o sa paggamit ng "simpleng" salita, o sa "kasimplehan" ng paksang tinatalakay. Tinutukoy nito ang malalim na pagkaunawa sa mga tauhan, pangyayari, kalagayan, proseso at problema na nagaganap at umiiral sa buhay ng mamamayan at lipunan. Ang pagbabagong nagaganap sa gitna ng rebolusyonaryong pagbabangon ay isang kumplikadong bagay, at nakadepende sa lalim ng pagkaunawa ng manunulat tungkol sa bagay na ito para makalikha siya

ng obrang simple, "kasing-simple ng katotohanan," ibig sabihin, makatotohanan, madaling maintindihan, at nakakaantig.

Sinasalungat ng panuntunang ito ang paimbabaw na kaalaman, artipisyal na lenggwahe, at pagmamaliit sa karanasan, problema at hinaharap ng masang anakpawis.

(5) Ang panitikang nagtuturo. Ang panitikang pambansa-demokratiko ay instrumento para sa edukasyong pampulitika ng masang anakpawis. Dahil sa "kabigatan" ng mga paksa, halimbawa'y tungkol sa linyang pampulitika, programa, pwersa, pamamaraan at perspektiba ng pambansang demokrasya, kasaysayan ng lipunang Pilipino at rebolusyon, ang pamumuno ng proletaryado, ang sosyalismo, ang estado at rebolusyon, at iba pa, kinakailangang gumamit ng paraan, tulad ng paggamit ng biswal, kanta, iskit, kwento o tula, para patingkarin ang mahahalagang punto at tumimo sa isip, maiwasan ang pagkabagot ng masang anakpawis na ngayon lamang dumaan sa "schooling" at gawing kasiya-siya ang pag-aaral.

(6) Ang panitikang humuhubog ng bagong pagpapahalaga (values). Sa pagdaloy ng rebolusyon, ang pag-iisip at damdamin tungkol sa iba't ibang usapin ay nagbabago, halimbawa'y tungkol sa sistema ng pag-iisip at paggawa, sa disiplina, sa kababaihan, sakripisyo at kamatayan, sa pakikipagrelasyon, atbp. Ang pagtatampok sa mga pagbabagong ito sa panitikang pambansa-demokratiko ay isang mahalagang bagay, dahil sa lalim ng pagkakabaon sa kaisipan ng mamamayan ng mga ideang kolonyal at pyudal, pagkalaganap ng kontra-rebolusyonaryong mga idea, damdamin at hangarin sa propaganda ng mga naghaharing-uri, at sa kahirapan at tindi ng pakikibaka.

Sa rebolusyon, binabago hindi lamang ang materyal na kalagayan ng mamamayan at lipunan kundi pati ang mga pagpapahalagang paurong ng mamamayan. May kinalaman ang pagbabagong ito sa pag-atras, pagkaantala, o pagsulong ng rebolusyon, ng pagiging tunay na bagong tao ng mga rebolusyonaryong mamamayan.

(7) Ang panitikang mapaglimi. Ang panitikang ito ay naglalarawan, nag-aanalisa, naglilimi o naglalagom ng mga karanasan, sitwasyon, problema o pagbabago sa loob ng kilusan na dinanas mismo ng manunulat. Mahalaga ang panitikang ito bilang testimonyo ng personal na pagkabatid, pagbubuo ng bagong pananaw (insight), at pagpuna sa sarili bilang hakbang sa muling-paghuhubog.

Karaniwan, ang mga manunulat ay rebolusyonaryong mula sa intelektwal na petiburges, tulad ng ipinababatid ng paggamit ng malayang talud-turan, masusing pagbubuo ng mga imahen, personal na tinig, lenggwahe at istilo. Gayunman, ang modernong pagsusulat na ito ay nakabatay sa realidad ng rebolusyonaryong pakikibaka at ginagabayan ng kaisipang masa.

(8) Ang panitikang saksi. Ang panitikang saksi, o "testimonial literature," ay isang pagsasalaysay ng isang rebolusyonaryo tungkol sa kanyang mga karanasan sa kilusan sa loob ng mahaba-habang panahon. Direkta ang kanyang kaalaman sa mga tao, organisasyon, pangyayari, lugar, at iba pang bagay na kanyang tinatalakay. Hindi lang siya naglalarawan; ihinahayag din niya ang kanyang mga obserbasyon, reaksyon, palagay at mismong papel niya sa mga pangyayari. Hindi siya ang sentro ng salaysay kundi ang masa at rebolusyon.

Sa ganitong pagsusulat, walang hangad ang manunulat na makinabang, dakilain ang sarili, o palsipikahin ang kasaysayan. Ang batayan ng panitikang saksi ay ang naipong karanasan na mapagpupulutan ng aral, ang pagiging malapit sa masang anakpawis, at ang pagtitiwala sa tagumpay ng rebolusyon, mangailangan man ito ng mahabang panahon. Ang mga batayang ito mismo ang mga katangiang bumubuo sa katauhan ng rebolusyonaryong nagsasalaysay.

Ang Tungkulin/Tunguhin ng Panitikang Pambansa-Demokratiko

Ang tungkulin/tunguhin ng panitikang pambansa-demokratiko ay walang iba kundi ang pagsilbihan ang rebolusyon hanggang sa pananagumpay nito. Para mapaghusay ang pagsisilbing ito, kinakailangang laging pag-aralan ng manunulat ang samu't sari at kumplikadong karanasan ng nakikibakang mamamayan sa lunsod at nayon, paghusayin ang kanyang kaalaman sa sining, at itaas ang antas ng literasi ng anakpawis. Magagawa ito ng manunulat kung mahigpit na nakaugnay sa batayang masa.

Ikalawa, kailangang aktibong gamitin ang panitikang ito para sa pagpapalaganap ng rebolusyong pambansa-demokratiko sa mas malawak na mamamayan at sa gayo'y mahimok silang lumahok o sumuporta sa pakikibaka.

Ikatlo, sa pamamagitan ng mahuhusay na akdang pampanitikan ng pambansang demokrasya, ibayong pagpapalaganap, at kritisismong pampanitikan, kailangang pahinain ang impluwensya ng panitikang kolonyal, pyudal at elitista sa hanay ng masang anakpawis at mga panggitnang pwersa.

At ikapat, at ito'y nakasalalay sa pananagumpay ng rebolusyon, sikaping maging dominanteng pwersa ang panitikang pambansa-demokratiko sa pagbubuo at pagpapaunlad ng pambansang panitikang tunay na nagsasalamin sa pangunguna ng masang anakpawis sa paghubog ng isang lipunang malaya, progresibo at makatarungan.

Lekturang binasa sa UP Creative Writing Center,
14 Nobyembre 1989

PARSYAL NA LISTAHAN NG MGA MATERYAL NA PINAGSANGGUNIAN

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ANG SITWASYON SA PANITIKAN PAGKARAAN NG PAG-AALSANG EDSA

ANG PANGYAYARI SA EDSA noong Pebrero 1986 ay isang taktikal na pag-urong ng mga naghaharing-uri para mapigil ang lubusang pagbulusok ng sistemang malakolonyal at malapyudal at patuloy silang makaposisyon, sa pamamagitan ng isang popular na gubyerno, para durugin ang mga pwersa ng rebolusyong pambansa-demokratiko sa buong bansa. Ang pagpapalit ng kapangyarihang pampulitika mula sa deretsahang pasistang paghahari ng rehimeng US-Marcos tungo sa isang rehimeng nagpupusturang liberal ay bahagi, sa katunayan, ng istratehiyang gerang lahatang-panig *(total war strategy)* ng imperyalismong US sa mga malakolonya nito, at nakatuon pangunahin sa pagwasak sa mga pambansang kilusang mapagpalaya at sa gayo'y mapanatili ang paghahari ng monopolyo kapital sa mga lugar na ito.

Ang pag-urong ng mga naghaharing uri ay tumutukoy sa pagpapanumbalik, hangga't makakayanan, ng mga institusyong burges-demokratiko, tulad ng parlamento, kalayaang sibil, atbp. Totoong may panandaliang mga positibong resulta para sa ilang porsyento ng mamamayan ang ganitong mga hakbang; gayunman, ang pagpapanumbalik na ito ay isang pormalidad lamang sa esensya, sapagkat nananatili ang katangiang pasista ng buong istrukturang pang-estado na nagpapanatili sa sistemang malakolonyal at malapyudal sa Pilipinas. Talamak na hinahadlangan ng rehimen

ang pambansa at demokratikong mga kahilingan at adhikain ng mamamayan para sa pagbabagong panlipunan (tunay na reporma sa lupa, pambansang industrialisasyon, pagpapatalsik sa mga baseng militar ng US sa bansa), at kung ikukumpara sa nakaraang rehimen ay higit itong mabalasik sa pagsasagawa ng mga aksyon at programa para supilin ang kilusang masa ng mamamayan, pangunahin sa pamamagitan ng reporrnismo, vigilantismo at militarisasyon.

Tulad ng mga pwersa sa ibang larangan, ang panlabas na pagbabago sa pampulitikang paghahari sa bansa (paghaharing sa katunaya'y batbat ng krisis sa ekonomya, pulitika at kultura, at nasa huling yugto na ng pagbulusok ang buong sistemang kinakatawan nito) ay nakaapekto sa mga manunulat, laluna yaong nasa Metro Manila.

Ang unang naapektuhan ay yaong mga manunulat na nagsilbi bilang propagandista (pino o garapal) o simpatisador ng rehimeng US-Marcos, nagtaguyod ng tinatawag na "cultural renaissance" sa ilalim ng diktadura, at hanggang sa huli'y nagsikap ipanalo si Marcos sa snap presidential election noong 7 Pebrero 1986. Ang pinakakilala sa kanila ay nagpasimula o nagbuo ng ilang teoryang pansining at pampanitikan, tulad ng "unitive aesthetics" (Benesa, 1973), "ethnic and aesthetic liberation" (Bautista., 1981) at "distansiyang pulitikal" (Almario, 1984), mga terminong pangartistiko na may intensyong ikubli ang tunay na katangian ng nakaraang rehimen.

Kung ang pananalo ni Marcos ay nangahulugan sana ng isang "new cultural renaissance," tulad nang isinasaad sa pahayag ng Coalition of Writers and Artists for Freedom and Democracy (*Bulletin Today*, 28 Enero 1986), ang pagkatalo naman ay nangahulugang ang kasalukuyang kinasasadlakan ng mga manunulat ay isang "cultural wasteland" (Editoryal, *Kalatas*, Unyon ng mga Manunulat sa Pilipinas o UMPIL, Hunyo, 1987). Ang makitid na batayan ng kongklusyong ito ay ang tinurang pagbabale-wala sa kagalingan ng mga manunulat. Gayunman, walang tinutukoy na responsable sa kalagayang ito: " . . . the Union does not seek to lay blame on any one or any political administration."

Bilang tagapangulo ng UMPIL, nanawagan si Virgilio Almario, kahit sa mga manunulat na hindi myembro ng kanyang samahan, na magkaisa ang mga manunulat sa isang "krusada" para sa kanilang kagalingan. Anya: "Let no past differences or misunderstanding divide us and work against mutual respect among writers. We should instead think of worthy steps

to move forward, like rational beings and respectable citizens . . . It's high time that writers, of whatever belief or persuasion, worked as one for the common good."

Tungo sa "common good" na ito, naglabas ang UMPIL ng ilang resolusyon sa isang pambansang kumbensyon noong 10-11 Enero 1987 na humihiling sa bagong gubyerno na muling buhayin ang Republic Heritage Awards at National Artist Awards, itayo ang isang ministri sa kultura, pababain ang buwis sa mga libro, papel at materyal sa pag-iimprenta, atbp.

Matatandaang sa "An Agenda for Culture" na ginamit ng Coalition of Writers and Artists for Freedom and Democracy bilang pangganyak sa mga manunulat at artista para iboto si Marcos, at sinasabing inaprubahan na ni Marcos, kabilang ang mga puntong ito bukod pa sa pagtatayo ng isang Philippine Academy of Arts and Letters, Writers-Artists Village sa Metro Manila, Art Bank para sa pagbili ng mga likhang-sining, atbp.

Di tulad ng ilang kilalang artistang patuloy na nagpapahayag ng kanilang pagsuporta kay Marcos, o kaya'y nanahimik na lang, ang UMPIL ay nagpahayag na hindi ito "partisan" (tulad din naman ng kanilang sinasabi sa panahon ng diktadura, bagamat pinabubulaanan ito ng kanilang ikinilos, lalung noong snap presidential election), at nakikiisa sa pagtataguyod ng mga kahilingang tinatayang makabubuti para sa mga manunulat bilang isang sektor sa ilalim ng bagong rehimen.

Ang ikalawang grupo ng mga manunulat na naapektuhan sa pagbabago ng rehimen ay yaong nagpursiging makibaka laban sa rehimeng US-Marcos sa mahabang panahon ng paghahari nito. Tulad ng ilang personaheng nasa unang grupo, ang ilang personahe sa ikalawang grupo ay may reputasyong pampubliko bilang mga progresibong manunulat, kundiman mga manunulat na nagtataguyod sa kilusang pambansa-demokratiko sa kabuuan nito o sa partikular na larangan ng sining at panitikan. Karamihan sa ikalawang grupong ito ay mga propesyunal na manunulat na anti-Marcos, kundiman anti-pasista, na masiglang nagsikilos mula noong 1983, nang paslangin si Benigno Aquino. Sa pamamagitan ng Concerned Artists of the Philippines (CAP), kaagad nilang ipinahayag, sa mensaheng may petsang 25 Pebrero 1986, ang kanilang pagsuporta sa bagong rehimen: "We pledge our support for and solidarity with all initiatives of the government that will lead to full freedom of expression, return of civil liberties and respect for human rights."

Kaalinsabay, tulad ng unang grupo ng mga manunulat, kanilang hiniling at ipinakipaglaban ang pagtatatag ng isang ministri sa kultura: "As artists and cultural workers, we urge the new government, as soon as it has consolidated power, to facilitate the creation of a separate Ministry of Culture which shall be mandated to ensure freedom of expression and at the same time promote Philippine art and culture committed to truth, justice, freedom, democracy and the interests of the Filipino people." O kaya, sa ibang pormulasyon kinalaunan: " . . . to develop a true Filipino culture which shall be non-partisan, multicultural, pluralistic, liberative and democratic."

Bagamat sa simula'y nagpahayag ang gubyerno na wala sa prioridad nito ang kultura, inaprubahan nito ang pagtatayo ng isang Presidential Commission on Culture and Arts (PCCA) na binubuo ng mga kinatawan ng Department of Education, Sports and Culture, Department of Tourism, Cultural Center of the Philippines at iba pang institusyong pangkultura ng gubyerno.

Sa tinatawag na "Makiling 1 Paper" (tungkol dito at ilang kasunod na datos, tingnan ang pamplet na *The Paths of Policy: Art and Culture in the Aquino Government* ni Doreen Fernandez, 6 Marso 1988), inilahad ng PCCA ang pananaw nito hinggil sa kultura:

"1. Independent, in the sense that it shall be free of those political and economic structures which inhibit cultural sovereignty and shall assert a national identity which draws from our strengths as a people;

"2. Equitable, in the sense that it shall effectively distribute cultural opportunities, correcting the imbalance that has long prejudiced the poor who have the least opportunities for cultural development and educational growth;

"3. Dynamic, in the sense that its continuing development is consistent or at pace with scientific, technological, social, economic and political changes in both national and international levels;

"4. Progressive, in the sense that it shall develop the vast potential of every Filipino as a responsible change-agent of his society who, in unity with other citizens, can achieve goals hitherto deemed impossible;

"5. Humanistic, in the sense that it shall ensure the freedom and creativity of the human spirit in a world increasingly dominated by machines."

Sa ganitong mga pormulasyon, makikitang ihinihiwalay ang kultura sa mga istrukturang pampulitika at pang-ekonomya at inilalagay ito sa pusisyon ng pagsasariling lumalagpas sa katangiang relatibong awtonomya ng kultura sa loob ng isang relasyong sa bandang huli'y mapagpasya ang ekonomya; mekanikal ang ugnayan at pag-unlad ng mga bagay-bagay sa lipunan; hindi hinaharap ang pagkakahati-hati ng lipunan batay sa uri; at sa isang lipunang hindi pa industrialisado'y inilalako na ang sentimyentong anti-mekanisasyon.

Sa mga prinsipyo at rekomendasyong binuo ng PCCA, na tinukoy ng mga namumuno na maaari na ngang tawaging "Pilosopya sa Kultura," mapapansin sa unang malas ang tila dualismo sa paglikha ng kultura:

"1. Culture by the people. The state believes in the encouragement and promotion of a national culture that is freely evolved by the people themselves by providing an atmosphere or climate of freedom, protection and responsibility. Towards this end, the State shall . . . formulate a national cultural policy and evolve cultural programs that shall be . . . Pluralistic . . . Democratic . . . Non-Partisan . . . Liberative.

"2. Culture for the people. The state assumes as a primary responsibility the preservation and creation of artistic and cultural products for the people, and the promotion and dissemination of the same to the greatest number of people throughout the country."

Sa katunayan, sabihin mang "culture from below" o "culture from above," iisa lamang ang kulturang ito, ang kultura ng naghaharing-uri, sapagkat ang nagdidikta sa pamamaraan ng pagsasakatuparan, katangian at limitasyon nito ay nagmumula sa isang poder, ang naghaharing rehimeng komprador-asendero.

Ang CCP, na ngayo'y inaasahang maging "genuine people's cultural center" ng mga pinuno nito, ang punong-abala sa pagsusulong ng mga palisiya at programa sa paglikha at pagpapalaganap ng sining at panitikan batay sa limang-puntong oryentasyon: Filipinization, Democratization, Decentralization, Development of Artistic Excellence, at Promotion of International Relations.

Tulad ng naunang mga pormulasyon, ang mga terminong ito ay hinubaran ng mga panipulitikang pagpapahalaga, ngunit sa katunaya'y nagsisilbing malalaking salita para sa pagpapanatili ng ilusyong pulitikal na liberal-demokratiko ang rehimeng Aquino.

Bagamat may mga bagong salita, kakatwang marinig ang mga salita ng nakaraang rehimen mula sa kasalukuyang mga pinuno o empleado ng CCP. Halimbawa, ang sinabi ni Dr. Nicanor Tiongson, Artistic Director, noong Pebrero 1987 ("the artist, being an artist, is committed to the truth – thus not bound by any ideology") ay sinabi rin, sa ibang paraan, ni Ministro Armando Manalo ng Department of Foreign Affairs noong Hulyo 197X ("art is beyond ideology"). Ang salitang "non-partisan" ay regular na bahagi ng bokabularyo ng mga pinunong pangkultura ngayon, tulad din noong panahon ng diktadura.

Sa kasalukuyan, ang ikalawang grupong ito ang pangunahing abala sa pagsuporta sa Shahani bill sa senado, na ang pinagbatayan ay ang mga palisiya at rekomendasyon ng PCCA. Salungat sila sa isa pang bill sa kultura, ang Alvarez bill, na sang-ayon sa kanila'y magpapabalik sa dating elitistang pamamalakad sa upisyal na kultura ng rehimen.

Ang ikatlong grupo ng mga manunulat ay yaong nagpapahayag ng linyang pambansa-demokratiko sa kanilang mga likha at kilos. Mula pa noong dekada 60, ibinandila na ng grupong ito, sa pamamagitan ng kanilang sining at panitikan, ang pakikibaka laban sa imperyalismong US, pyudalismo at burukratang kapitalismo, ang pagsuporta sa rebolusyonaryong kilusang masa, at ang pagtataguyod ng isang kulturang pambansa, syentipiko at pangmasa at paggupo sa naghaharing kulturang kolonyal, pyudal at elitista. Sa buong panahon ng paghaharing diktadura ng rehimeng US-Marcos, sa pinakamahirap na pagpapasimula at pagpapaunlad ng kilusang masa sa gitna ng mga kampanyang militar at pasistang panggigipit, isinulong ng mga manunulat ng pambansang demokrasya ang panitikang nagsisilbi sa rebolusyonaryong pakikibaka ng mamamayan sa paraang ligal at iligal, sa lunsod at nayon ng buong bansa, at ipinalaganap sa rebolusyonaryo at progresibong uri at sektor ng lipunan, laluna ng anakpawis.

Sa snap presidential election, nanindigan ang mga manunulat sa grupong ito, sa partikular yaong nakabase sa Metro Manila, para sa boykot. Sa manipestong may petsang 1 Pebrero 1986, inihayag ng Sangguniang Tagapag-ugnay sa Sining (SINING) ang pusisyon ng mga indibidwal na artista't manunulat at 50 myembrong organisasyon: "We, as people's artists and writers, view the snap election as one more vicious move of the US-Marcos regime to keep itself in power. Neither Marcos nor the legal opposition candidates, who likewise come from the ranks of the ruling classes in

Philippine society, carry the national and democratic demands of the Filipino people. Under the present dispensation, no election can be free or democratic; neither can it save the people from their sufferings or the economy from its worsening crisis. In this light, we, as people's artists and writers, as well as teachers, critics and enthusiasts of art and literature which serve the people in their struggle for national freedom, democracy and true progress, join hands with the broad Filipino masses in boycotting this farcical and fraudulent snap election."

Natalo ang kampanyang boykot, iprinoklamang presidente si Corazon Aquino sa bisa ng people/people's power, at dahil sa kanyang popularidad bilang byuda ng isang martir ng pasismo, at panimulang positibong mga hakbang bilang bahagi ng demokratikong pagluluwag, ay nagkaroon ng pagtatalo sa loob at labas ng kilusang pambansa-demokratiko kung ang gubyernong Aquino ay isang progresibong rehimeng liberal-demokratiko o kaya'y isang rehimeng komprador-asendero. Sa sumunod na mga buwan, naging maliwanag na sa kabila ng liberal na anyo, ito pa rin ang dating rehimeng kontrolado ng imperyalismong US at lokal na galamay nitong mga komprador at asendero, at sa katunaya'y higit na mas matindi ang mga palisiya at programa nitong maka-imperyalista at kontra-mamamayan, tulad nang ipinakikita ng mga patakarang import liberalization, debt-to-equity swap, mas mataas na renta ng mga baseng militar ng US (hindi pagpapatalsik), ng mga pangyayaring tulad ng masaker (kahit sa mismong Mendiola), salvaging, at marami pang iba.

Noong 1 Disyembre 1986, nagbuo ang mga progresibong manunulat ng isang bagong organisasyon, ang Pambansang Unyon ng mga Manunulat (PANULAT). Sa talumpati ng tagapangulong Elmer Ordoñez, kanyang idiniin ang pagmamantine ng independensya ng manunulat sa estado. Anya:

"The lessons of the past should be clear.

"Never again should writers allow themselves to be used by the state – whether it is dictatorial or appears to be liberal or benevolent.

"Writers have a duty to keep their distance from the state even as the state takes seriously its role of patron of the arts and letters.

"A writers' union that seeks to serve the interests of its members coming from all over the country must maintain its independence while it enjoys state patronage. There should be no quid pro quo for that kind of support.

"We are here to form a union that is not a cultural arm of the state, that is credible to its members and to the public."

Mahalaga ang puntong inihapag ng tagapangulo hinggil sa paggamit ng dalawahang taktika – ang pagpapanatili sa independensyang pulitikal ng manunulat sa estadong nagpapairal ng sistemang malakolonyal at malapyudal (ipag-iba ito sa "distansyang pulitikal" ni Almario, isang teoryang abstrakto, mapagkunwari at batbat ng oportunistang pag-uurong-sulong), kasabay nang paghaharap sa estado ng mga kahilingan para sa kagalingan ng sektor, hindi bilang pribilihiyadong sektor kundi bilang bahagi ng mamamayan, hindi nagpapatali sa anumang kundisyon ng estado o nagbibigay-hadlang sa paglilingkod sa mamamayan.

Noong 8-11 Enero 1987, sa panahon ng "peace talk" sa pagitan ng National Democratic Front at gubyernong Aquino, idinaos ang kongreso sa pagtatatag ng Artista at Manunulat ng Sambayanan (ARMAS), ang lihim na pambansang rebolusyonaryong samahan ng mga artista't manunulat sa Pilipinas. Sa isang artikulo (*Ang Bayan*, Marso 1987), isinasaad ang sirkunstansya ng pagkakatatag nito: "Naitatag ito sa panahon ngayong ginagamit ng mga naghaharing uri ang kultura bilang bahagi ng istratehiyang low-intensity conflict (LIC) o lahatang-panig na gera . . . Ang LIC ay binuo ng imperyalismong US para gawing epektibo ang programang kontrainsureksyon sa kanyang mga malakolonya sa Ikatlong-Daigdig. Kasabay ng kontra-rebolusyonaryong mga hakbang sa pulitika, ekonomya, lipunan, sikolohiya at militar, ang kultura bilang sandatang pang-ideolohia ay ginagamit para paunlarin at patatagin pa ang pinakaatrasadong mga idea at paniniwalang kolonyal, pyudal at elitista sa hanay ng masa sa pagsisikap na makabig ang kanilang "puso't isip" laban sa kanilang sariling pambansa't demokratikong mga adhikain."

Sa magasing *Ulos* (1, 1987), nanawagan sa mga artista't manunulat: "Kailangang ilantad at salungatin ng mga rebolusyonaryong artista't manunulat ang maka-imperyalista't kontra-mamamayang mga programa ng rehimeng US-Aquino at itanghal, sa pinakamayamang paraan ng sining at panitikan, ang mga pakikibaka ng mamamayan para sa pambansang demokrasya, samantalang ipinaglalaban ng mga artista't manunulat ang sarili nilang kagalingang panlipunan. Bilang mga malikhaing propagandista, kailangang palaganapin nila sa sambayanan ang mga simulain ng pambansang demokrasya, mahigpit na alamin ang buhay at pakikibaka ng mamamayan at tunay na makiisa at magsilbi sa mga anakpawis, ang mga

manggagawa't magsasaka, silang nasa unahan ng rebolusyonaryong pakikibaka. Mula sa kanila, at para sa kanila, ang mga dakilang likhang pansining at pampanitikan ng mga rebolusyonaryong artista't manunulat ng Pilipinas."

Noon namang 18-20 Marso 1988, itinatag ang Coordinating Center for People's Culture (BUGKOS), isang pambansang organisasyon ng mga makabayang samahan ng mga artista't manunulat. Ang pundasyon ng BUGKOS ay nailatag sa Makiisa Festival 1 at 2 na idinaos noong panahon ng paghaharing US-Marcos. Ipinahayag ng BUGKOS: "Binubuo natin ang Bugkos makalipas ang dalawang taong pagkaluklok sa kapangyarihan ng pamahalaang Aquino . . . Binubuo natin ang Bugkos sa yugto ng matinding krisis sa ekonomya't pulitika, krisis na pinalulubha ng umiigting na panunupil sa mga laya't karapatan ng bayan. Binubuo natin ang Bugkos sa panahon ng higit na pangungubkob ng mga galamay ng paghahari ng Estados Unidos sa lahat ng larangan ng pamumuhay ng ating bansa . . . . Binubuo natin ang Bugkos sa yugtong di na matatawaran ang lakas, lawak at sigla ng kilusang mapagpalaya . . . . Ang Bugkos ang magbibigkis ng mga samahan, magpapanday ng mga likha at tataliba laban sa kulturang ngayo'y pinamamayani ng rehimeng US-Aquino para ganap na makamit ng sambayanan ang isang kulturang pambansa, syentipiko at makamasa."

SA MGA MANUNULAT NA ITO, ang mga manunulat na pambansa-demokratiko ay kabilang sa isang pambansang kilusan sa paglikha, pagpapalaganap at ibayong pagpapahusay ng sining at panitikang nagsisilbi sa pampulitikang pakikibaka ng mamamayan para sa pambansang kalayaan at demokrasya. Nagsimula ang kilusang ito sa rebolusyonaryong sining at panitikan noong dekada '60 sa Metro Manila at mga sentrong lunsod; sa panahon ng diktadurang US-Marcos, nag-ibayo ang pag-unlad nito sa kanayunan at kalunsuran kasabay ng pag-unlad ng rebolusyonaryong kilusang masa at armadong pakikibaka; at patuloy itong isinusulong sa panahon ng paghaharing Aquino, batay sa obhetibong kalagayang patuloy na nananatili ang lumang sistemang malakolonyal at malapyudal at sinasagka ng mga naghaharing-uri ang mga pambansa at demokratikong adhikain ng mamamayan. Ang inaasam-asam na pagbabago pagkatapos ng pag-aalsang EDSA, tulad ng pagpapatupad ng tunay na reporma sa lupa, pambansang industrialisasyon, pagpapatalsik sa mga baseng militar ng US, pagwasak sa mga istruktura ng pasismo, at iba pa ay patuloy na binibigo ng mga pali-

siya at programa na pumapabor sa mga interes ng imperyalismong US at mga lokal na komprador at asendero. Mismong ang pagtatatag ng gubyernong Aquino ay nakabatay sa programa sa pagtatayo, pagkatapos ng paghaharing US-Marcos, ng isang gubyernong binubuo ng tinatawag na Third Force – nakabase sa panggitnang uri, repormista, sentrista, anti-komunista – na tinataya ng mga naghaharing uri na magkakamit ng popular na suporta sa pagsugpo nito sa rebolusyonaryong kilusan.

Mga pundamental na pagbabagong panlipunan ang adhikain ng sambayanan; ito rin ang adhikain ng mga manunulat na pambansa-demokratiko. Kasabay nito at para makapaglingkod dito, hinaharap nila ang mga pundamental na pagbabago sa sining at panitikan ng masa para umayon at magsilbi ito sa pangangailangan ng nakikibakang sambayanan.

Para sa makabayang manunulat sa Pilipinas, ito ay hindi bagong misyon. Ang pagsusulat para sa pambansa at demokratikong pagbabago sa lipunan ay nagsimula noong huling bahagi ng siglo 19, sa panahon ng pag-aalsa laban sa kolonyalismong Espanyol; nagpatuloy ito sa panahon ng pakikibaka laban sa kolonyalismong US, sa panahon ng Commonwealth at sa sumunod na pakikibaka laban sa pasismong Hapones, at kahit noong ikalawang hati ng dekada 50 na walang kilusang masa at armadong pakikibaka at maigting ang isteryang anti-Komunista. Ang kaibhan ng kasalukuyang mga makabayang manunulat sa mga nauna, kaibhang nagsimula noong 1930 sa pagkakatatag ng Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas, ay ang pagiging bahagi nila sa isang pangkalahatang kilusang ginagabayan ng pinakasulong na ideolohiang proletaryo.

Samantala, maluwag na masasabing karamihan sa mga manunulat na nakibaka laban sa paghaharing US-Marcos at ngayo'y sumusuporta kay Aquino batay sa mahihinang suhetibong dahilan, ay maituturing na liberal demokratiko. Maaasahan sila sa pagtatanggol para sa kalayaang sibil at para sa kagalingang pang-ekonomiko ng sektor, gayundin sa pakikibaka para sa partikular na mga usaping anti-imperyalista at anti-pyudal. Nangunguna o sumasama sila sa mga pakikibakang masa batay sa ganitong mga isyu, at ihinahayag nila ang mga progresibong idea sa kanilang mga likha. Kung sa kasalukuya'y may optimismo pa sila sa gubyernong Aquino, ang kanila mismong pakikibaka ang magtuturo sa kanila ng kawalang-kahihinatnan nito.

May dalawang panig ang mga pwersang liberal demokratiko, batay sa katangian ng kanilang burges-liberal na ideolohia. Tinukoy ito ni Jose

Ma. Sison sa kanyang mensahe sa mga manunulat na myembro ng U.P. Writers Club noong 1982. (Ang buong teksto ay nasa *Prison and Beyond: Selected Poems* ni Jose Ma. Sison.) Progresibo ang isang panig nito, at maaaring makipag-alyansa sa kanila, kundiman makabig sa panig ng pambansang demokrasya. Ang isa namang panig ay yaong nagsisilbi sa interes ng imperyalismong US at mga lokal na ahente nitong komprador at asendero na nasa gubyerno at negosyo. Sa ikalawang panig na ito maihahanay ang ilang manunulat na nagsilbi/nagsisilbi bilang mga pinunong pangkultura ng gubyerno noon at ngayon. Sa panahon ni Marcos, sinikap nilang ikubli ang katangiang maka-imperyalista at anti-mamamayan ng gubyerno sa pamamagitan ng paggamit ng pambansa-demokratikong mga pananalita, tinakot ang mga manunulat sa pakikisangkot sa pakikibakang masa sa pamamagitan ng tinaguriang "partidismo" sa panitikan, tinangkang suhulan ang mga manunulat sa pamamagitan ng isang "Agenda for Culture", at ngayong wala sa poder ay nililimita ang mga manunulat na nasa kanilang pamumuno sa mga isyung pang-ekonomiko ng sektor at mga isyung teknikal sa pagsusulat. Sa panahon ng kanilang panunungkulan, direkta nilang binabanatan ang rebolusyonaryong kilusan. Samantala, ang mga pinunong pangkultura na nasa gubyernong Aquino ay nagsisikap na mapanatili ang pusturang liberal ng rehimen bagamat halos nawala na ito at malinaw na ang katangiang maka-imperyalista at kontra-mamamayan nito.

Partikular sa Cultural Center of the Philippines: totoong sa kasalukuya'y mas maraming artista't manunulat at kanilang organisasyon ang nakikinabang, kahit katiting, sa mga programa nito, at may nagsasabi na ngang sa ilalim ng kasalukuyang rehimen, at sa pamamagitan nito at CCP, ay nakamit na ang pinakamataas na yugto sa pag-unlad ng makabayang kultura: "Here is the peaking of a period of convulsive transition from neocolonial mystification to nationalist awakening in culture . . . " (Bienvenido Lumbera, *Kultura*, 1988). Maaaring panatilihin ng mga naghaharing uri ang ganitong pustura ng CCP sapagkat kung ikukumpara sa ibang ahensyang pang-edukasyon at pampropaganda ng gubyerno (halimbawa'y ang DECS, Instructional Materials Corporation, National Reconciliation and Development Council, Philippine Information Agency, Channel 4), mas mahina ang dating o epekto ng mga programa nito (isang dahilan, pero hindi prinsipal, ay ang kaliitan ng badyet) sa mas malawak na mamamayan. Kung maghihigpit naman, mas titingkad ang papel ng CCP bilang patron ng lahat ng atrasadong kolonyal at pyudal na idea sa kultura,

tulad ng ibinabadya ng isang palasukong palabas, ang *Maniago* ni Paul Dumol, isang myembro ng Opus Dei.

Sa bahaging ito, mainam gunitain ang sinabi ng dakilang manunulat na Tsino, si Lu Hsun, sa isang artikulong sinalin at nilimbag sa manwal para sa konggreso ng pagtatatag ng Panulat para sa Kaunlaran ng Sambayanan (PAKSA) noong 18-19 Disyembre 1971. Anya: "Ang lumang lipunan ay nagpapahintulot ng pagsusulat para sa uring manggagawa dahil hindi naman ito mapanganib – sa katunayan, sinubok na ito ng mismong mga panatiko at ginamit nila ito bilang palamuti, sapagkat tila namumukod-tangi ang pagtatabi sa sala ng isang magaspang na mangkok ng manggagawa at mga lumang porselana at antigo. At kapag ang mga manunulat ng uring manggagawa ay nagkaroon na ng isang maliit na sulok sa daigdig ng panitikan at nakapagbili na ng kanilang mga manuskrito, titigil na sila ng pakikibaka at ang mga kritiko ay magsisikanta na ng mga awit ng tagumpay: 'Nagtagumpay na ang panitikang proletaryo!' Ngunit bukod sa tagumpay ng iilang indibidwal, ano na ang nagawa ng panitikang proletaryo mismo? Dapat itong maging likas na bahagi ng pakikibakang proletaryo para sa pagpapalaya at kasabay na yumabong ng pwersang panlipunan ng uring manggagawa. Ang katunayang may mataas na kalagayan sa daigdig ng panulat ang panitikang proletaryo samantalang napakababa ang kalagayang panlipunan ng proletaryo ay nagpapakita lamang na ang mga manunulat ay naging tiwalag sa proletaryado at pumanig sa lumang lipunan."

ANG MASIGLANG PAG-UNLAD ng makabayang panitikan mula noong dekada '60 hanggang sa kasalukuyan ay bunga ng pagsisikap ng mga manunulat na pambansa-demokratiko at progresibong liberal demokratiko. Nagkakaisa sila sa maraming usaping pampulitika at pangkultura, at nagkakasama sa mga organisasyon at alyansa. Sa kanilang sariling hanay o sa pagitan ng dalawang pwersang ito, seryoso nilang tinatalakay ang praktikal na mga problema na iniluwal ng bagong panitikan at sining sa panahon ng rebolusyon at reaksyon. Halimbawa ng mga problemang ito: Ano ang relasyon ng manunulat sa estadong malakolonyal at malapyudal? Ano ang pambansang panitikan, ano ang panitikang bayan? Ang panitikan at sining ba ay hindi sakop ng ideolohia? Ano ang istatus ng realismo, laos na ba ito't kailangang gumamit na ng ibang paraan sa pagsusulat? Ano ang implikasyon sa sektor ng paglabas ng mga bagong manunulat mula sa hanay ng mga manggagawa, magbubukid, kadre at Pulang mandi-

rigma? Ano ang katangian at tungkulin ng kritisismong pangmasa? Paano pinagsisilbi para sa pag-unlad ng sariling panitikan ang mga teoryang banyaga? Ano ang popularisasyon at pagtataas ng pamantayan? Ano ang ugnayan ng lunsod at nayon sa pag-unlad ng bagong panitikan? Ano ang implikasyon sa pagsusulat ng kalagayang mababa ang antas ng literasi ng masang anakpawis? Reduksyonista, pragmatista ba ang mga manunulat na pambansa-demokratiko?

Ang mga usaping ito ay nangangailangan ng hiwalay na pagtalakay; sapat nang ipahiwatig na importante ang mga usaping ito sa pagsusulong ng bagong panitikan.

Bagamat may mga pagkakaiba ang mga manunulat na pambansa-demokratiko at liberal-demokratiko, halimbawa'y sa pamamaraan ng pagbabago ng lipunan, estilo ng pag-iisip, pag-aaral at paggawa, relasyon ng manunulat at masa, atbp., nagkakaisa sila sa maraming mahahalagang bagay. Sa partikular na larangang kanilang kinikilusan at pinagpapakadalubhasaan, nagkakaisa sila sa pagbaka sa patuloy na pagdodomina ng kolonyal, pyudal, at elitistang panitikan, at sa pagsisikap na lumikha ng isang tunay na bagong panitikang sumasagisag sa pinakaabanteng adhikain ng sambayanang Pilipino sa kasalukuyang panahon.

Ngayo'y papaigting ang mga kontradiksyon sa pagitan ng mamamayan at mga naghaharing-uri na kinakatawan ng rehimeng komprador-asendero. Higit kailanman, mas mabalasik ang pagkilos ng mga naghaharing-uri laban sa mamamayang nagtataguyod ng pambansa't demokratikong mga kahilingan. Sa partikular na larangan ng kultura, nag-iibayo ang pagtindi sa pagpapalaganap ng anti-mamamayang mga idea sa ngalan ng kontra-insureksyon at anti-komunismo. Sa kanayunan, ipinamumudmod ang mga komiks na inililimbag ng National Reconciliation and Devleopment Council para pasukuin ang mga mandirigmang bayan at organisadong magbubukid sa pamamagitan ng pangakong reporma. Ang mga establisimyentong militar ay nagtatanghal ng mga palabas na nilalahukan ng kilalang mga artista sa pelikula at telebisyon para sa ganito ring layunin. Ang mga programa sa radyo ("Shimatar," "Diego Bandido," na pinopondohan ng Ford Foundation) at telebisyon ("K, an Alien Rule," "Banyuhay") at pelikula ("Victor Corpus," "Balweg," "Alsa Masa," "Sparrow," "Kumander Dante") ay nagkakalat ng pinalsipikadong kasaysayan at pangyayari, isteryang anti-komunista, at mga ideang superman, palasuko, at mapamahiin. (Abangan ang pelikula tungkol sa pag-aalsang EDSA, na binabalak

ilarawan ng prodyuser na si Al Guinto bilang isang mirakulong maihahanay sa kagila-gilalas na mga pangyayari sa Biblia). Sa kanta, pinalalaganap ang mga ideang rekonsilyasyon ng mga uri at "mapayapang" pagbabago. Sa edukasyon, inilalarawang kapaki-pakinabang para sa mga Pilipino ang mga programa ng imperyalismong US sa mga teksbuk sa elementari at hayskul na inililimbag ng Instructional Materials Corporation mula sa pondo ng World Bank. Sa mga unibersidad, may mga propesor na nagsisilbing instrumento sa pagsisistematisa at pagpapalaganap ng tinatawag na pagpapahalagang Pilipino (Filipino values) na tinanggalan ng anumang istorikal at makauring konteksto; ng mga populistang idea mula sa mga teksto at ritwal ng mga relihiyosong milinarya; ng mga kaisipang pampanitikan na itinatanghal ang "purong salita" na hindi nababahiran ng pulitika, kasaysayan o ideolohiya. Ang mga institusyong pangkultura ng imperyalismong US, kabilang ang industriang pang-anunsyo nito, ay patuloy na nagkakalat ng mga kaisipan at pagpapahalagang kolonyal, gayundin naman sa pagpapaunlad ng mga intelektwal na "non-" o "anti-Communist Left."

Habang tinutuligsa ng mga makabayang manunulat ang ganitong mga manipestasyon ng reaksyunaryong kultura, kanila ring isinusulong ang ibayong pagpapaunlad ng makabuluhang panitikan sa nayon at lunsod, sa ligal at iligal na paraan, at ipinalalaganap sa hanay ng lahat ng rebolusyonaryo't progresibong uri at sektor – manggagawa, magbubukid, petiburges ng lunsod at pambansang burges. Sa kanayunan, patuloy ang paggamit at pagpapalaganap ng bagong panitikan sa nakalimbag, oral o isinalarawang mga anyo ng tula, dagli, kanta, iskit, komiks. Inililimbag ang mahuhusay na akda sa mga panrehiyong pahayagang masa; halimbawa, sa *Baringkuas* ng Cagayan, isineserye ang isang mahabang nobelang sinulat ng isang beteranong Pulang mandirigma, samantalang sa Panay, sinimulang ilimbag ang magasing pangkultura sa rehiyon, ang *Sublak,* na naglalaman ng mga kwento, kanta, tula at sanaysay ng mga aktibistang masa, kadre at Pulang mandirigma.

Sa pambansang sakop, inililimbag sa *Ulos* at *Liberation* ang pinakamahusay na mga likha ng mga rebolusyonaryong manunulat sa nayon at lunsod. Bukod sa *Ulos,* inilimbag noong 1987 ng ARMAS ang *Clearing,* koleksyon ng tula sa Ingles ni Jason Montana, dating Pulang mandirigma at mula sa sektor ng relihioso, at ang *Kabanbanuagan* (Kabataan) ni Kris Montañez batay sa mga karanasan ng masang anakpawis sa mga sonang gerilya. Ngayong taong ito, inilimbag ng Kilusan sa Paglilinang ng Rebolus-

yonaryong Sining at Panitikan sa Kanayunan (LINANG) ang *Sa Tungki ng Ilong ng Kaaway*, talambuhay ng isang beterano ng rebolusyong Pilipino mula 1920 hanggang sa kasalukuyan. Ang LINANG ang pabliser ng *Magsasaka: Ang Bayaning di Kilala* (1984), antolohia ng tula, kwento, biswal at kanta tungkol sa makabayang magbubukid.

Ang pagsusulat para sa masa at ang pagpapaunlad ng mga bagong manunulat mula sa hanay ng mga manggagawa't magbubukid at kanilang *advocate* mula sa mga panggitnang pwersa ay isinusulong ng mga makabayang institusyon, tulad ng Amado Hernandez Resource Center (na nag-iisponsor ng kontes at workshop, at nitong nakaraang taon, 1987, ay naglabas ng *Kalipunan ng mga Akda ng Anakpawis* at isang monograp, "Sa Pagsibol ng Talinghagang Anakpawis sa hanay ng Manggagawa" ni Rose Torres-Yu) at Gapas Foundation (na nagtataguyod sa paglikha para sa mga magbubukid sa pamamagitan ng Gapas Komiks, Gantimpalang Ani, at workshop). Ang mga publikasyong tulad ng *Pahayag*, *Makiisa* (Philippine Educational Theater Association), *Mandala* (Asia-Pacific Cultural Action Programme ng Asian Cultural Forum on Development). *Ang Yugo* (Kulturang Atin Foundation sa Mindanaw) at iba pa ay naglalaman ng mga likha, pag-aaral, at pananaliksik sa panitikan at sining ng masa. May mga independyenteng pablisher, tulad ng Kalikasan Press, na tumutulong sa pagpapalaganap ng ganitong mga likha, tulad ng *Negros*, koleksyon ng mga tula, sanaysay at kwento ni Jun Cruz Reyes.

Bahagi sa pagpapasigla sa paglikha at pagpapalaganap ng bagong panitikan ang mga publikasyon mula sa mga unibersidad (UP, Ateneo, La Salle), sa masmidya (*Midweek*), sa organisasyon ng mga manunulat (Galian sa Arte at Tula, Panulat, Pluma), sa organisasyon ng ibang sektor, tulad ng kababaihan *(Filipina)*, relihioso *(Kalinangan, We Have not Forgotten)*, mangingisda *(Kilapsaw)*, minorya ("Lubay"), atbp. Maging ang CCP ay nagsimulang maglimbag ng ganitong mga likha *(Kamao, Ani)*, bagamat sa pangkalahatang introduksyon sa *Kamao*, maling nilimita ni Dr. Tiongson ang kahalagahan sa pakikibaka ng lahat ng mga tula, kwento at dula sa tatlong koleksyon sa panahon lamang ng diktadurang US-Marcos.

SA REBOLUSYONARYONG SITWASYONG tulad nang kinalalagyan ngayon ng Pilipinas, ang nakataya ay ang mga pundamental na usapin sa pulitika, ekonomya at kultura. Sabihin pa, ang mga pundamental na pagbabago ay hindi nagaganap sa pagbabago ng rehimeng iniluklok sa poder

ng mga naghaharing uri, kahit may panimulang popular na suporta ito ng mamamayan.

Bahagi ng pundamental na usaping ito ang pagbabago sa panitikan ng bayan. Ang pagbabagong ito ay hindi nagaganap nang hiwalay sa pagbabago sa sistema ng paghaharing pampulitika, pang-ekonomya at pangkultura ng lipunan. Walang rebolusyong pampanitikan na hiwalay sa pundamental na pagbabago ng buong lipunan.

Mapagpasya ang kasalukuyang panahon sa pagbabago ng ating panitikan. Ang pagbabagong ito ay hindi na tulad nang dating usaping pang-akademiko lamang, o kaya'y suhetibistang pangarapin ng ilang manunulat. Ito ay itinatakda mismo ng rebolusyonaryong pagbabangon ng mamamayan laban sa imperyalismong US, pyudalismo at burukratang kapitalismo na patuloy na naghahari sa buong lipunan sa pamamagitan ng rehimeng papet. Sa larangan ng panitikan, ang manunulat ay nasa panig ng reaksyon o ng rebolusyonaryong pagbabangon (hindi lang sa sabi-sabi kundi sa mga kongkretong likha at kilos). Ganito karahas na pinasisimple ng rebolusyon ang mga katanungang sa ibang panahon o lugar ay hindi lubos na malutas, di kaya, o ayaw lutasin, ng ilang manunulat. Kaalinsabay, ganito kahirap ang mga bagong tungkuling itinatakda ng rebolusyon para sa tunay na mga manunulat ng bayan.

Ang pagbabangon ng mamamayan ang nagbibigay ng kalagayan at direksyon sa pagbabago at pagpapaunlad ng panitikang Pilipino; hindi lamang kalagayan at direksyon, kundi pati materyal, lenggwahe, paraan, estetika, ideal, paninindigan, atbp. ng panitikang nililikha at nagsisilbi sa interes ng mamamayan, anumang rehimen ang naghahari.

Sa ganitong pagtingin lamang mareresolba ang mga kontradiksyon sa hanay ng mga manunulat at sa pagitan ng mga manunulat at mamamayan, at lubos na mapaunlad ang isang panitikang tunay na karapat-dapat sa sakripisyo at kabayanihan ng mamamayan.

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FILIPINIANA SECTION

ON REVOLUTIONARY PEASANT LITERATURE

THE PRESENT DEVELOPMENT of revolutionary peasant literature in our country is determined by the following:

1. The peasantry is carrying out agrarian revolution under proletarian leadership;

2. The peasantry serves as the main force in the protracted armed struggle;

3. Revolutionary organs of political power are being established in the advanced areas in the countryside where the peasantry, comprising 70 per cent of the national population, resides; and

4. The peasantry continues to suffer from economic, political and military oppression, and cultural backwardness.

The land question has been the long-standing problem in the country from the Spanish colonial period to the present. The local ruling classes, from the Malolos Congress of the late 19th century down to the present comprador-landlord regime of Aquino, have failed to resolve this essentially petty bourgeois demand for individual land ownership. Today, this question is being resolved in the course of the national democratic revolution, the main content of which is the satisfaction of the peasant demand for land. The failure of the bourgeoisie has provided fertile ground for the resolution of this problem under proletarian leadership. This

development therefore puts the resolution of the land question under new perspectives, that is, from being an instrument for capitalist transformation in the countryside to an instrument for cooperative development within the socialist project.

This agrarian revolution is conducted through the revolutionary peasant mass movement, open or underground, and through armed struggle. The protracted armed struggle, being the main form of struggle in the national democratic revolution, is carried out by the New People's Army whose contingents are drawn mainly from the ranks of poor and middle peasants and farm workers. The role of the peasantry in the armed struggle is dictated by several factors, namely: 1) the peasants are the most numerous and most exploited segment of the population, 2) they have to secure and advance the gains of the agrarian revolution, and 3) they are the most reliable ally of the worker class in this and later phases of the revolution.

In areas in the countryside where the New People's Army is virtually in command of the situation, where the peasant masses are organized, and where the revolutionary land reform is being implemented (from the minimum program of rent reduction to the maximum program of outright land seizure), local organs of political power are established, exercising comprehensive leadership in the political, economic and cultural life of the masses.

On the whole, the peasants are engaged in an arduous enterprise significant not only to their class but to the other progressive classes and sectors of society as well. Principally, national industrialization is premised on the liberation of agricultural production from the stranglehold of US imperialist and local comprador-landlord interests. Among oppressed classes and sectors, the peasant masses bear the brunt of intense political and economic repression and exploitation, of military fascism and vigilante atrocities, of state counterrevolutionary propaganda and total war policies, and of cultural deprivation.

These are the realities which we have to bear in mind when we talk of the present development of peasant literature, the kind of literature which the organized peasants, other revolutionary forces and their allies produce and disseminate to advance the struggle, to strengthen the unity between workers and peasants, and to secure the widest support for the revolution by other progressive classes and sectors of Philippine society.

What are the implications of these realities to the character and development of revolutionary peasant literature?

First, the new peasant literature is guided by proletarian ideology. This literature asserts the supreme role of the basic masses in historical change, the alliance between the worker and peasant classes in the revolution and the leading role played by the worker class, and partisanship with the oppressed classes in the class struggle. It combats all bourgeois and feudal ideas, sentiments and aspirations which the ruling classes spread through the mass media, US and state propaganda agencies, and the traditional church in the hope of distracting and weaning the peasant masses away from their revolutionary enterprise. The heroes of this new literature are the workers and peasants through whose courage and sacrifices the victory of the struggle is assured.

The peasant in the new literature is the exact opposite of the subjectivist-sentimental, idyllic-pastoral, religio-populist, and reformist representations in much of the earlier peasant literature in the country, in the mythopoeic historiography of the academic structuralists, and in the literature of peasant cultural workers under the tutelage of the Lavaite Partido Komunista ng Pilipinas.

Second, the new literature advances the political struggle for national democracy, the main content of which is peasant emancipation from feudal and semifeudal bondage. In various creative ways, this literature disseminates the national democratic line, its program and perspectives, complementing and enlivening the more formal general mass education course given to activists, and reaching wider audiences. In launching mass campaigns and mass actions, this literature – mostly in the form of storytelling, oral poetry, songs and skits – serves as a weapon in agitating, organizing and mobilizing the peasant masses, whether to combat abusive landlords, militarization or anti-people government projects, or to support the economic, educational, health and other programs launched by people's organizations, including military operations by the New People's Army.

In this respect, revolutionary peasant literature, alongside other cultural actions which serve the new politics, is thus transformed into a material force as the masses take possession of revolutionary ideas with which they, as one united force, forge their way towards liberation. Consequently, as the material basis, that is, as the new political and economic structures

are established, this revolutionary literature as well as the other arts, science and technology, education and religion, turns into an instrument of cultural revolution, whose main task is "to reconstruct the system of education and to make the best achievements of culture available to the masses, thereby assuring their direct participation in managing economic, social and political affairs, creating a new intelligentsia, and forming a new culture. This new culture at this early phase of the revolution is national, scientific and mass culture.

Third, revolutionary peasant literature is developed in accordance with the principle of "from the masses, to the masses." The concreteness, variety and liveliness of much of this new literature stem from the practice of this principle, which entails intimate knowledge of the day-to-day life, struggles and aspirations of the masses, their language and their culture. Only in this manner can the writer achieve what is truly typical of the masses, that is, to discover where, based on their revolutionary program, interests and practice as a class, they are going; and to avoid pitfalls in revolutionary writing, such as tailism or adventurism, sloganeering, stereotyping, imposition of petty bourgeois sentiments on the revolutionary masses, and elitist tendency to look down on the masses and belittle their achievements and potentials.

An aspect of this principle deals with the question of popularization and raising of standards, a point which is much misunderstood. Popularization means popularizing national democratic ideas, experiences, sentiments and aspirations among the working masses, and on this basis, and in the furtherance of popularization, the political content and artistry of literary works are raised from the previous levels of performance, thus reflecting the variety and complexity of the political struggles of the masses, and their need for new and better artistic expressions as the struggle gets more intense and multifaceted and rises towards higher levels.

Fourth, the production, dissemination and further improvement of revolutionary peasant literature are a mass undertaking. As such, it involves all writers from the ranks of organized workers and peasants, Party cadres, Red fighters and urban petty bourgeois intellectuals, as well as their allies from the middle forces. Revolutionary writers, whether amateurs or specialists, employing traditional or modern literary forms, engaged in literary production as a main task or as occasions demand, all contribute to the development of this literature, quantitatively and qualitatively.

Literary works get disseminated in printed form through the regional mass newspapers, or rendered orally in mass gatherings in the villages or mountain camps of the New People's Army. Some of these works reach other regions, including urban centers, either in their original form or in translation or adaptation.

Literary mass criticism is the method employed to improve work in this field, using both political and artistic criteria. In this regard, the effect of literary work on the masses is of crucial importance, a question of whether the work impedes or advances the revolutionary struggle. At the moment, however, the main thrust is to encourage as many revolutionary writers to produce works on the peasant struggle, whether these works are addressed to the peasants as main audience and/or to the urban middle forces who must be won over to the side of the revolution.

And fifth, the new peasant literature is produced and disseminated under specific conditions of people's war and general cultural backwardness in the countryside.

Conditions in the countryside, given the further intensification of revolutionary guerrilla war and the counter-insurgency operations of the ruling regime, are highly volatile and require great flexibility and mobility in the operations of the revolutionary forces. At the same time, these require maximum concentration of resources – time, personnel and logistics – for the peasant mass movement and the war effort.

The countryside provides excellent conditions for waging a protracted people's war; even then, the uneven development in a semicolonial, semifeudal society such as the Philippines has resulted into a great gap between town and country, reducing the countryside to a life of extreme poverty, illiteracy and general cultural backwardness, a situation which it is to the interests of the ruling classes to perpetuate.

Under these conditions, revolutionary peasant literature is tasked with liberating the hearts and minds of the working masses from the stranglehold of bourgeois and feudal culture; only then can they embrace new ideas which represent their true class interests, and fight for their realization. The educational and axiological role of revolutionary literature is an essential component of revolutionary work, whether this is done in the field of mass mobilization, expansion, or consolidation.

All these conduce to the development of a countryside literature which is 1) generally marked by its sweep, concreteness and variety, for the most

part performed or rendered orally and visually for the greater section of the poor peasantry and farm workers; 2) a more or less complex literature embracing a wider field of revolutionary experiences, ideas and sentiments, a literature which answers the needs of the advanced revolutionary forces in the countryside and urban centers to support the peasant struggle which is at the core of the national struggle for liberation, democracy and progress in the country.

Lastly: in the agenda for a protracted people's democratic revolution, the countryside is envisaged as the political, economic, military and cultural bastion of the revolution. When that finally happens, for bastions take time and effort to build, the revolutionary peasant literature will be one fortress to defend people's gains and to advance the struggle on levels higher than this present one we see happening before our very eyes.

Lecture delivered during the second
PANULAT Congress, 1988.

TUNGKOL SA *BUTONG BINHI:* KALIPUNAN NG MGA AKDANG NAGWAGI SA GANTIMPALANG ANI 1987

MAY TATLONG MADALING-MAKITA'T magkakaugnay na problema sa kasalukuyang kalipunang ito ng mga likhang-pampanitikan ng mga magbubukid na manunulat at maka-magbubukid na manunulat mula sa mga panggitnang pwersa. Hindi naman ito dapat ipagtaka; sa katunayan, asahang iiral ang ganitong mga problema sa mahaba-habang panahon hangga't hindi ganap na nailalatag ang bagong mga materyal na batayan para sa mas mabilis na paglutas sa mga ito.

Ang mga problema:

Una, mangilan-ngilan ang lahok na nagmumula sa mga magbubukid na manunulat;

Ikalawa, mangilan-ngilang pormang pampanitikan ang nagagamit ng mga magbubukid na manunulat; at

Ikatlo, sa pangkalahata'y nagkukulang sa partikularidad, pagkakaiba-iba (variety) ng nilalaman at istilo, at kasiningan ang mga sulating mula sa kanila.

Kung tutuusin, isa na ngang panimulang pananagumpay ng kilusang magbubukid, o ng pangkalahatang kilusang pambansa-demokratiko, ang pagsisikap ng mga magbubukid na magsulat tungkol sa kanilang karanasan, damdamin at adhikain para sa pagbabago ng lipunan. Ibig sabihin, ang masiglang oral na tradisyong pangkultura ng masang magbubukid ay

nalalangkapan na ng nakasulat na panitikan at may nadedebelop nang tagatangkilik sa kanilang hanay na nakababasa't nakasusulat. Gayunman, nananatili ang mga batayang naglilimita sa mas malawak na paglikha at pagpapalaganap ng nakasulat na panitikan sa kanayunan. Ito'y ang mga sumusunod:

Una, ang kababaan ng antas ng literasi sa kanayunan. Ito ay resulta at kundisyon mismo ng pagsasamantala't pang-aapi ng mga uring komprador at asendero, na ang paghahari'y nakasalalay sa pagpapanatili ng karukhaan, pamahiin, kamangmangan at pagkaatrasado sa pulitika, ekonomya at kultura ng masang anakpawis.

Napakahalaga ng pagpapalaganap at pagpapataas ng antas ng literasi ng masang anakpawis kung kayat sa pananagumpay ng mga bansang tulad ng Rusyang Sobyet noong 1917 at Nicaragua noong 1979, ang pagpapatupad nito ay isa sa mga prioridad ng bagong gubyerno, sapagkat ito ang batayan ng pagpapaunlad ng kakayahan ng masang anakpawis para sa sariling pangangasiwa ng kanilang buhay-pampulitika, pang-ekonomya at pangkultura, ng pagbubuo ng mga bagong intelektwal mula sa kanilang hanay, at ng paglikha at pagtanggap ng mas marami, iba-iba at mahuhusay na mga obra sa sining at panitikan.

Kunsabagay, bago pa man maganap ang sintulad na pananagumpay sa ating bayan, ang mga organisasyong masa sa kanayunan at mga institusyong bayan na sumusuporta sa kanilang pangangailangan ay nagsasagawa na ng mga kampanyang literasi para ibayong mapaghusay ang pamumuno at pagkilos ng mga pwersa sa kilusang masa.

Ikalawa, ang antas ng pakikibakang pampulitika at pang-ekonomya ng masang magbubukid. Ang ibayong pag-igting ng kilusang magbubukid sa ilalim ng kasalukuyang rehimeng US-Aquino (sariling pagpapatupad ng rebolusyonaryong reporma sa lupa; pagtutol laban sa militarisasyon, vigilante, masaker, salvaging, pambobomba, ebakwasyon; pagpapalawak at pagpapatatag ng mga organisasyong masa at pagpapalarga ng kanilang mga programa) ay nangangailangan ng ibayong konsentrasyon ng mga pwersa, panahon at rekurso para sa pakikibaka. Batay sa ganitong kalagayan, ang paglikha ay pangunahing nakatuon sa pangangailangan ng taktikal na kampanyang masa, mabilis gawin at madaling ipalaganap, at nangangailangan ng kaunting bilang ng pwersa at lohistika. Maraming mahuhusay na obra ang nalikha at nalilikha sa ganitong kalagayan; gayunman, sa ganito ring kalagayan ng paglikha at paggamit nagmumula ang

karaniwang mga kahinaan, tulad ng de-padrong pagsusulat, ma-islogan, gasgas na paglalarawan, atbp., bagamat hindi matatawaran ang bisa ng kahit ganitong mga likha sa pagpapasigla ng kampanyang masa.

Sa kanayunan, mapapansing may ibayong sigla ang paglikha at pagpapalaganap ng sining at panitikan, oral o nakasulat, sa mga lugar kung saan nakapagsasagawa ng mga hakbang para sa tunay na reporma, malawak ang suportang masa sa armadong pakikibaka, matatag ang mga organisasyong masa at naglulunsad ng iba't ibang proyekto at kampanya, at may pamumuno sa gawaing pansining at pampanitikan. Ipinakikita nito ang kalahagahan ng bagong sining at panitikan para ihanda ang kaisipan ng masang anakpawis sa iba't ibang larangan ng pakikibaka at kumilos para sa pagpapaunlad ng mga ito.

At ikatlo, ang pagkakahiwalay ng magbubukid na manunulat na nasa kanayunan at manunulat mula sa mga panggitnang pwersa na nasa kalunsuran. May istorikal at makauring batayan ang ganitong pagkakahiwalay at pagkakaiba sa lipunang malakolonyal at malapyudal, tulad din naman ng pagkakahiwalay ng gawaing intelektwal at gawaing pisikal, ng nayon at lunsod. Ang pagkakahiwalay na ito ng mga intelektwal mula sa mga panggitnang pwersa at masang anakpawis (sa nayon at lunsod kapwa) ay lalong pinalulubha ng mga naghaharing uri para supilin ang kanilang pagkakaisa at pagkaitan ang masang anakpawis ng instrumento para sa paghuhubog ng paborableng opinyong publiko para sa kanilang ipinakikipaglaban.

Gayunman, sa simula pa lamang ng kilusang pambansa-demokratiko ay nailatag na ang mga prinsipyo at programa para sa mahigpit na ugnayan ng masang anakpawis at intelektwal, kabilang ang mga artista't manunulat, para sa pagsusulong ng kilusang propaganda at rebolusyong pangkultura.

Totoong ang mga kalagayang ito ang naglilimita sa mas malaganap na pagpapaunlad ng nakasulat na panitikang magbubukid sa kanayunan, pero ito rin ang mga kalagayang nagtatakda sa kahalagahan at nesesidad para sa pagyabong nito.

ISANG BAGONG PENOMENON sa ating lipunan ang magbubukid na manunulat, gayundin ang magbubukid na odyens na marunong magbasa't magsulat. Mahalaga ang pangangalaga at pagpapalago ng penomenong ito, hindi lamang para sa kasalukuyang pakikibaka kundi para sa paghahanda rin sa

kanila na mapangasiwaan ang kanilang buhay-pampulitika, pang-ekonomya at pangkultura, kahit ngayon at laluna sa hinaharap.

Ang pagpapaunlad ng bagong panitikang magbubukid, oral o nakasulat, ay gawain hindi lamang ng mga organisadong magbubukid kundi maging ng mga manggagawa, kadre, mandirigmang bayan at kaalyado mula sa mga panggitnang pwersa sa nayon at lunsod.

May mahalagang papel sa pagpapaunlad na ito ang mga pambansa-demokratikong manunulat mula sa hanay ng mga panggitnang pwersa, kanilang organisasyon, at institusyong bayan na sumusuporta sa kilusang masang magbubukid.

Una, dahil pangunahing pampulitikang tungkulin ng mga manunulat na ito na pagsilbihin ang kanilang panulat sa pakikibakang masa sa lunsod at nayon. Sinasakop ng kanilang pagsusulat ang pagkilos ng iba't ibang uri, sektor at saray ng lipunan sa rebolusyong pambansa-demokratiko, ang iba't ibang usapin, proseso at ugnayan sa loob at labas ng kilusan. Ang kanilang pagsusulat ay ginagabayan ng pinakawastong linyang pampulitika sa kasalukuyang pakikibaka at ng pangkalahatang prinsipyo ng paglilingkod sa masa.

Ikalawa, dahil nasa kanila ang kasanayan sa iba't ibang larangan ng sining at panitikan. Sa pamamagitan ng workshop, kontes, at panunuring masa, maibabahagi nila ang kanilang kaalaman sa mga bagong manunulat, laluna yaong mula sa masang anakpawis, at sa ganitong paraan ay mapaparami at mapapahusay ang mga bagong manunulat na ito. Sa ganito ring paraan, marami silang matututuhan mula sa mga bagong manunulat ng iba't ibang sektor, laluna ang punto ng mahigpit na ugnayan ng panitikan at kilusang masa at ang implikasyon nito sa nilalaman at paraan ng paggamit ng iba't ibang porma ng panitikan, oral o nakasulat.

At ikatlo, dahil may kasanayan at rekurso sila para sa mas malawak na pagpapalaganap ng bagong panitikan, kapwa yaong mga likha nila at likha ng mga manunulat mula sa masang anakpawis. Maisasalin nila ang mahuhusay na mga likha sa mga pangunahing lenggwahe sa bansa, gayundin sa iba't ibang porma ng sining at panitikang popular sa masa, tulad ng komiks, teyp, iskit, pelikula, at iba pa. Mapauunlad rin ang bago, dati o tradisyunal na daluyan ng sining at panitikan, gayundin ang bagong odyens para sa mga likha, sa kanayunan at kalunsuran.

Kung tutuusin, bagong manunulat rin ang mga pambansa-demokratikong manunulat mula sa mga panggitnang pwersa. Hindi na sila yaong

mga manunulat na lumilikha batay sa mga pagpapahalagang kolonyal, pyudal at elitista, pagpapahalagang suhetibista at makasarili. Ang batayan ng kanilang paglikha ngayon ay ang kilusang masa tungo sa pagbabago; ito ang pinagmumulan, pinagsisilbihan, at sumusukat sa kahalagahan ng kanilang mga likha at pagkilos.

ANG PANITIKANG MAGBUBUKID ay isang bahagi ng bagong panitikang bayan na nililikha at pinalalaganap sa kasalukuyang panahon ng pakikibaka para sa pambansang demokrasya. Bilang bahagi, ang panitikang ito ay ginagabayan ng pinakasulong na mga idea ng proletaryado at sumasalamin sa pagkilos ng lahat ng mga rebolusyonaryo't progresibong mamamayan para sa pagbabagong pampulitika, pang-ekonomya at pangkultura ng bansa. Bilang isang partikular na panitikan, sinasalamin nito ang mahigpit na ugnayan ng magbubukid at manggagawa, ang pakikipagkaisa ng masang anakpawis sa ibang progresibong uri at sektor, ang pagsusulong sa tunay na reporma ng agraryo at pangkalahatang pagbabago ng lipunan.

Mahalaga ang panitikang magbubukid na ito, gayundin ang iba pang panitikang umuunlad sa pagtataguyod ng kilusang pambansa-demokratiko, para sa pakikibaka ng may 70 porsyento ng mamamayang nasa kanayunan.

Di tulad ng lumang panitikang magbubukid, ang bagong panitikang magbubukid ay hindi populista. Hindi ito ginagabayan ng kaisipang petiburges, tulad ng sentimentalistang idealisasyon ng masang magbubukid o buhay-magbubukid. Pinalalaya at pinalalawak ng panitikang ito ang pagtingin ng masang magbubukid bilang pwersa sa pagbabago, hindi lamang ng umiiral na malakolonyal at malapyudal na relasyon ng produksyon sa lupa, kundi ng buong sistema ng paghahari sa lipunan.

Hindi rin pansektor lamang ang kahalagahan ng panitikang magbubukid. Bagamat ang masang magbubukid ang nasa sentro ng panitikang ito (at napakalawak ng sentrong ito na binubuo ng pinakamalaking bahagdan ng pambansang populasyon), at ang kanilang pagkilos sa iba't ibang larangan ng pakikibaka sa kanayunan, kapwa para sa internal na pagbabago at pagbabago sa kanilang materyal na kalagayan, mahalaga ang panitikang ito sa ibang uri at sektor, kaibigan o kaaway man, sapagkat sinasalamin nito ang isang pambansang kilusang may apekto sa hinaharap ng buong lipunan.

Hindi madaling gawin ang panitikang ito. Kinakailangang lubos na maunawaan ng mga bagong manunulat ang praktika ng masang anakpawis

sa kanayunan para baguhin ang kanilang daigdig, ang pag-iisip at pagkilos ng iba't ibang pwersa, ang iba't ibang proseso at ugnayan ng mga tao, bagay at pangyayari tungo sa pag-unlad. Masalimuot ang kapaligirang kinikilusan ng masang magbubukid kung kayat ang anumang pagsisikap para sa pagpapasimple ng kasalimuotang ito, halimbawa'y sa larangan ng sining at panitikan (hindi madaling bagay, tulad ng akala ng ilang manunulat na ang simpleng pagsusulat ay sloganeering at heneralisasyon lamang), ay isa na ngang hakbang sa pagbibigay-liwanag at pagpapalaya sa masang anakpawis at ibang mamamayan para sa pagbabago ng lipunan.

Inilimbag bilang Apendiks sa
Butong Binhi: Kalipunan ng mga Nagwaging Akda,
Gantimpalang Ani 1989 (Gapas Foundation, Inc., 1989).

THE ROLE OF THE PROFESSIONAL WRITERS IN DEVELOPING NEW WRITERS FROM THE BASIC MASSES

THE YEARS OF STRUGGLE of the Filipino people against the fascist rule of the US-Marcos clique has caused the emergence of a new type of writers who work closely with the people, with the worker and peasant masses in particular, address these workers and peasants as the new literature's main subject and main audience, and who advance the political, economic and cultural struggles of the people with literature serving as a weapon.

The national democratic revolution gives proof to the fact that a people in struggle require and do create a literature which serves their struggles, whether in the urban areas or the countryside, armed or unarmed, open or underground. This literature is tasked not only with combatting the conservative and reactionary culture which the ruling classes employ to weaken and destroy the people's resolve for revolutionary change, but also with laying the ground for a culture which actively asserts national sovereignty and dignity, truth, and the decisive role of the masses of workers and peasants in social transformation. In the political front, this literature unites the people against their common enemy and arms them for practical struggles towards the attainment of national liberation and democracy.

Given the importance of literature in these terms, it is inevitable that the new writers should emerge from the ranks of the organized forces

themselves, from the worker, peasant and urban petty bourgeois mass activists, cadres and Red fighters. While some of these organized forces, especially those who are based in the urban areas, attend to matters concerning revolutionary and progressive art and literature as their central task, the greater number creates literary works in the course of performing their main tasks in the mass movements or armed struggle. The greater bulk of the literary productions through the years and on a national level comes from these latter writers, especially those based in the countryside and urban poor communities. This should not surprise anyone, considering the fact that revolutionary literature, its creation, popularization and dissemination is an open activity in the guerrilla fronts of the New People's Army, whether during mass campaigns or in day-to-day life of the peasants and farm workers and Red fighters, where each new occasion calls for new works reflecting new needs and experiences in struggle. Given their rich experiences in mass movements or military work, a clear political direction, grasp of basic literary skills, language and popular cultural forms in the area, and needs of their audiences, the new writers are indeed in the best position to create works with dispatch and for immediate use. Much of the poetry, narrative and lyrical songs, fables and vignettes come from the ordinary ranks of organized workers and peasants in the countryside who give voice to their struggles through poetry, stories, skits and songs.

In addition to these works, there are those works done by revolutionaries from the petty bourgeoisie who had previous professional practice in the literary arts and continue to so practice their skills whether on a part-time or full-time basis, this time towards the creation of revolutionary works addressed to the basic masses and/or their allies among the middle forces. Moreover, there are also those works, poetry and songs especially, produced during the decades of struggle of the Filipino people against Spanish, American and Japanese colonizers and the postwar puppet regimes of US imperialism which continue to be of currency, expressive as they still are of the present people's struggles.

The best literary productions of the previous period (that is, the US-Marcos regime) will continue to be of use in the struggle of the Filipino people under the present dispensation; the basic problems of Philippine society, after all, remain intact, and the US imperialists, along with their local supporters in government, military, business and the dominant

church are all the more intent in destroying the revolutionary forces through a counter-insurgency program called low intensity conflict or total war at the grassroots level. The US-Aquino regime, which is still able to keep a liberal facade, but not for long, is implementing this program with full US imperialist backing.

The Filipino people will resist this heightened reaction and continue their struggle for national democracy. As before, they will need new art and literature which speak of their conditions, struggles and aspirations. The writers from among their ranks will be busy with the many tasks on hand for raising the level of struggle through the mass movements and armed struggle, as well as with creating new literary pieces that deal with the immediate realities around them. The condition for creation and dissemination of artistic and literary works during the present period will be as difficult as it was during the struggle against the US-Marcos regime, perhaps more so. But the need of the people for new works will have to be satisfied to help them carry out their tasks in the struggle and bear all attendant difficulties and sacrifices. For this purpose, and given the conditions of people's war, the short and simple types of literature will do, but richer in content and more varied in form, whether oral or written. At the same time, given the complexity of experiences and the increasing level of literacy among the masses as a result of the mass education program in the far-flung villages, there is a growing audience for more extended works such as the short story, the novel, the full-length play and long narrative verse, or works which utilize folk forms that are popular in the area, such as the oggayam in the Cordilleras, balagtasan in Luzon, the ismayling in Samar and the composo in Negros and Panay. The recent formation of a particular revolutionary mass movement in art and literature in the cities and countryside augurs well for further development along this line.

What, then, is the role of the professional writer in this area of revolutionary work?

Basically, the professional writer is an intellectual who has the skills to receive, form and disseminate ideas, sentiments and aspirations in varied ways, including art and literature. Most intellectuals in the country come from the middle forces who, unlike the workers and peasants, have access to higher centers of learning and so are able to develop certain intellectual skills. That there are few intellectuals from the ranks of workers and

peasants is itself an indication of the elitist bent of the educational system in a semicolonial, semifeudal system such as is obtaining in the Philippines. Nonetheless, the national democratic revolution has, through the years, produced worker and peasant intellectuals, among whom are the new artists and writers from their ranks.

Right at the inception of the national democratic revolution, the artists and writers, or the intellectuals in general, were at the forefront of the cultural revolution and propaganda movement which reached a high point during the Revolutionary Storm of 1970. Before and after the declaration of martial law, many of these artists and writers went to the countryside to work in the peasant movement or armed struggle, or stayed in the urban centers to serve in the struggle of workers and progressive middle forces, in the open or underground movement. While a number of these artists and writers would do general mass work or staff work for the struggle, many of them kept up with their work in people's art and literature. Their works during the previous period, together with those produced by the new writers from the basic masses, constitute the first harvest of a people's literature and now serve as the basis for the raising of standard even as popularization remains as the central aim of people's art and literature.

Today, the professional writers, especially those among them who are at one with the Filipino masses in their aspirations for fundamental changes in society, and who see in the new art and literature a positive trend in the development of a truly national, truthful, change-oriented and mass-based art and literature, must recognize their role during this historical period, which is to be one in struggle with the Filipino masses and amidst this struggle to help create a literature that serves the people. In particular, this role is as follows:

1. Help train new writers from the basic masses through workshops for basic literary skills, and through criticism of their works. The workshops should hasten the development of more and better writers, and provide them with more varied literary forms to use, as well as skills to criticize and improve their works.

2. Help in the wider dissemination of the best works produced by the new writers through publication, translation and other means. In this way, the dominance of reactionary literature will slowly be eroded and more people can have access to the new literature.

3. Create new works that deal with the struggles of the peasants and workers, with themselves as the primary audience. The professional writers may also take steps to disseminate progressive works done by them in the urban centers, as well as translations of excellent foreign works, especially by writers from national democratic or socialist countries. And lastly,

4. The professional writers should join hands with the new writers from the workers and peasants in the general struggle for national democracy. It is also their struggle.

Delivered in a group workshop
during the PANULAT Congress, 30 May 1987.

TRANSLATION WORK FOR THE MASSES

THE IMPORTANCE OF TRANSLATION WORK to the people's struggle for national liberation and democracy has been well recognized since the start of the national democratic movement in the mid-60s. In a situation marked by heterogeneity of languages used by the people in the different regions of the country, where Pilipino as the national language is still in the process of being popularized, and where English remains the prevalent language in government, business, media and academe, the movement can lead and advance on a firmer and wider scale by carrying out, among other things, a systematic and widespread translation work of its theoretical guides, documents, and art and literature into the different languages spoken by the people. This particular line of work contributes to a speedy sharing of experiences and hastens the development of unity among the people in their thinking and action, an essential result of effective education and propaganda work in a movement which has a mass and national character.

The character, needs and development of the national democratic movement provide the basis for translation work – the selection of particular works to be translated and their dissemination, the collective style of work, and the characteristics of translated works, that they be simple, easy to understand, and exact. These latter characteristics involve clear

sentence structure, spelling based on common speech, standardized movement terms, words common to the masses, and fidelity to the original texts without distortion or miscomprehension.

Presently, translation work in the national democratic movement takes place under the following conditions:

1. Mass movements. Translation work serves a political purpose, that is, it aids in organizing and mobilizing people for definite actions in pursuit of their interests. It is also an instrument for consolidation and expansion work involving education, production and struggle. Exchanges of popular literary and other works between the different progressive classes and sectors in the cities and countryside take place through translation or through adaptation. These exchanges encourage interest in, and support for, the struggles of other classes and sectors, other regions, and other areas of mass work, such as work in economic production, health, military, literacy, women and youth. They also help unify the thinking of the masses regarding the multifarious activities and requirements of the mass movements and the need to develop them further.

2. Translators. The translators are organized forces from the ranks of propaganda cadres, Red fighters, sectoral mass activists, and urban intellectuals. In general, they have no formal training in translation or in linguistics, but their working knowledge of more than one language, their grasp of the national-democratic politics and their closeness to the masses provide sufficient ground for their practice. Outside of the National Translaton Bureau, regional propaganda committees, and editorial outfits of cultural and sectoral institutions, translation work is done on individual initiative and on part-time basis.

3. Audience. Translated works reach a wide variety of audiences on village, provincial, regional, national and international levels. These audiences consist of organized forces, potential recruits, allies, and foreign friends of the Philippine struggle. Through these translated works, their knowledge and experience of the struggle are extended and deepened, enabling them to pursue their revolutionary work within a wider context of commitment and struggle.

These audiences, to whom these works, whether in their original or translated versions, are addressed, also serve as active disseminators and critics of the same. With the heightening of the people's struggles, increase in mass literacy among the basic masses of workers and peasants, and

establishment of local organs of political power in the countryside, demands for more and varied translated materials, both local and foreign, should increase and must be satisfied.

4. Venues for dissemination. Translated works, like their originals, are disseminated through publications, performances and, to a certain extent, video cassette films. Publications, legal or underground, include national and regional mass periodicals, institutional, commercial and academic magazines, songbooks, comicbooks, cassette tapes, and books. These publications facilitate access to translated works, encouraging wider exchange, dissemination and further translation into other languages.

Another venue for dissemination, and a means more popular among the working masses in the countryside, is the theatre. Performances which include skits, poetry and songs in the program are held during mass campaigns, celebrations and other mass activities. Oral group readings of stories, poetry recitation and singing are common activities in villages, work sites and mountain camps in guerrilla bases and zones.

So far, what had been achieved in this line of work, what are the problems it confronts, and what is its prospect for future development?

Over the years, a modest collection of literary materials, varying in types, sources and quality, had been translated and disseminated. These materials include stories, vignettes, songs and poetry from the different regions in the country, urban centers, particularly Metro Manila, and from foreign countries, particularly Vietnam, China, and El Salvador. These works are translated from the regional languages into Pilipino, or from Pilipino and English into regional languages, or from English to Pilipino, or from Pilipino or English into European, Indian and other foreign languages.

Aside from facilitating wider dissemination for literary works, translation also contributes to the effort of popularizing Pilipino as the national vehicle for communication and as a language for artistic, technical and scientific works. A level of standardization has been effected, especially in spelling and terms current in the movement, and its vocabulary is continually enriched through the use of apt terms and expressions found in regional languages, as well as through critical appropriations from the English language, a process with precedent in the case of Spanish.

Translation work also contributes to the envigoration and modernization of regional languages as they absorb new scientific, technical and literary terms and conepts from each other and from Pilipino.

Certain translated works have reached not only local audiences but foreign audiences as well, notably in the United States, Canada, and European countries such as West Germany, Italy and France.

Certainly, much more could have been done in this area of work. There are, however, factors which presently limit its development, among which are the following: (1) difficulty in getting access to these materials, especially those existing in oral forms; (2) difficulty in achieving wider dissemination of materials due to militarization, vigilante operations, censorship, etc; (3) mobility of forces; (4) mass poverty and illiteracy, and (5) lack of funds for regular, full-time translation program.

On the other hand, there are also factors which should encourage more work in translation as an important area of mass work. Among these are (1) the mass of literary works produced since the late 60s, such as songs, fables, vignettes, short stories, and novels, upon which translation work depends; (2) the growing awareness of the importance of artistic and literary works in political, economic, military and cultural work in the cities and countryside; (3) the establishment of national and regional cultural organizations whose programs include retrieval, translation and dissemination of literary and artistic materials; (4) the publication program of support institutions for sectoral mass struggles; and (5) the growing interest of academic scholars for what they term as "emergent literature."

As one of the efforts in the cultural field, the literary translation work being done within the national democratic movement contributes to the strengthening of links between regions which the state attempts to divide and pit against each other by overly magnifying their religious, linguistic, ethnic and other differences, and envigorates the creation of regional literature and reception of other regional literatures through translation. On the national level, literature in Pilipino and other writings translated into Pilipino create one of the bases for popularizing and enriching Pilipino as the national language, as well as point out the direction of development of a national literature. And thirdly, literary works created within the national democratic movement and translated into foreign languages

strengthen the bonds of solidarity between peoples of other countries and the Filipino people in their common struggle for equality, justice and progress.

Read during the Seminar-Workshop on Literary Translation sponsored by the National Committee for the Literary Arts, Presidential Commission for Culture and Arts, 7 August 1989.

TOWARD A NATIONAL, SCIENTIFIC AND MASS CULTURE

AN ASPECT of the ongoing people's democratic revolution in the Philippines is the effort of the national democratic forces, as well as other progressive sectors, to transform the dominant colonial, bourgeois and feudal culture into a national, scientific and mass culture. This work in the cultural field goes hand in hand with the movement for economic and political liberation, democracy and progress, and serves the latter. Revolutionary cultural work takes place in such areas as education, mass media, art and literature, science and technology, religion, and in other realms of socio-ideological practices which, as in all class-divided societies, convey ideas, sentiments, values, aspirations, etc. which further the interests of one or more social classes at the expense of the more populous segments of society. In the course of the revolutionary struggle for national democracy, the reactionary culture peddled by US imperialism and the local comprador-landlord elites is exposed and done away with, to be replaced by a culture that unites the majority of the people based on national and class interests, advances social development and progress, and serves the needs and aspirations of the people, particularly those from the basic sectors of workers, peasants and the lower petty bourgeoisie.

The notion of a national, scientific and mass culture and the tasks set by the national democratic revolution for its development as an essential

component of the revolution was first systematically enunciated during the sixties, a result of the scientific study of Philippine history and society. Historically, the emergence and growth of this national democratic culture has been manifest since the First Propaganda Movement and the subsequent Philippine Revolution of 1896 against Spanish colonial and feudal rule, and in the following decades of struggle against US colonialism and neo-colonialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism. Unlike the national democratic culture enunciated by the ilustrados who were guided by the liberal bourgeois spirit of the French Revolution of 1789, the present national democratic culture, or the entire national democratic revolution for that matter, is under the ideological leadership of the proletariat, without, however, excluding the positive role of the anti-imperialist and anti-feudal wing of the liberal bourgeoisie during the present stage of the national democratic struggle.

The years of struggle against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism during the US-Marcos regime have accelerated the widespread and profound development of this new culture, brought about by, and itself serving as an instrument for, the politicalization and mobilization of wide segments of the population actively supportive of the revolutionary struggle, as expressed through the development of the revolutionary mass movements and armed struggle on a national scale; the emergence of new political, economic and cultural forces, programs and structures, particularly in areas where the people have achieved revolutionary gains through their own efforts; and the increasing literacy level, especially among the worker and peasant masses and their Red fighters in the countryside.

Under the present rule of the US-Aquino regime, the national, scientific and mass culture flourishes among the people even as the dominant reactionary culture is harnessed by the ruling classes in the service of the total war strategy conceived and being implemented in these parts by US imperialists and their local minions, to drumbeat continued US imperialist supremacy, spread anti-communist hysteria, reformism, reconciliation and the so-called centrist politics, and try to weaken the popular will for fundamental change in the political, economic and cultural structures obtaining in the country.

This scheme in the cultural field is bound to fail since the struggle of the Filipino people for national democracy has already achieved

a level of development which will be difficult for the ruling classes to dislocate or undermine, and since the present dispensation, like its predecessor, continues to perpetuate a semicolonial, semifeudal system which provides fertile ground for the people to pursue their national democratic ideals through their collective unity and strength.

What, then, is a national, scientific and mass culture?

A national culture is that which unites the Filipino people to assert and fight for national sovereignty and territorial integrity of the country. It is a culture which is anti-imperialist and antifeudal in essence and substance, discarding all forms of slavishness and colonial mentality and asserting the dignity of the people in their achievements, creativity and initiatives.

This concept of a national culture is the opposite of that culture which is supported and disseminated by the ruling classes. To the latter, a national culture is nothing but a compendium of imperialist and feudal thinking and values which work against national unity by inculcating divisions along regional, linguistic, religious and ethnic lines. It is ruling class culture, coercing, whenever it can, the cultural achievements of the people within its own terms, and positing national and class reconciliation in an effort to perpetuate imperialist and feudal rule and to destroy the revolutionary spirit of the people.

The national character of the national democratic culture is neither anti-foreign nor chauvinist. It critically assimilates useful developments from abroad, specially from socialist and national democratic countries, and countries similarly fighting for national liberation, democracy and progress, adopting them to local needs and conditions. It respects the indigenous culture of the national minorities, at the same time that it encourages its transformation from within in the course of their own struggles for national determination and autonomy.

National culture, as understood by the national democratic forces, is not the same as cultural nationalism, which removes both culture and nationalism from the context of political struggle through bourgeois idealization.

While national culture represents the interests of the various oppressed and exploited classes and sectors in Philippine society and unites them to struggle against a common enemy, it at the same time asserts the leadership of the proletariat in the development of this culture, even as it en-

courages the participation of the anti-imperialist and antifeudal wing of the local bourgeois classes.

The national democratic culture is scientific. As such, it develops the habit of seeking truth from facts, a process which liberates the mind from stifling traditions, myths and superstitions perpetuated by the ruling classes, and which enables the people to realize their capacities for change and to develop themselves and their society towards progress.

Ruling class culture, on the other hand, attempts to envelop the mind with bourgeois idealist notions and feudal metaphysics and superstitions, in order to maintain the belief that the Philippines is best suited as an agricultural country, that change must come from above, and that peace can be had through class reconciliation. It is to the interest of the ruling classes to keep the people cowed, backward, ignorant and superstitious.

Scientific culture upholds the correctness of the dialectical-materialist worldview. Even then, under the present circumstance of the national democratic revolution, it regards positively the contributions of progressive bourgeois science and philosophy, making possible an alliance with progressive bourgeois scientists and certain elements from the religious sector.

The notion which attempts to restrict scientific culture to the methods and practices of particular sciences (natural, biological, etc.) and the subsequent notion that science and culture (art and literature in particular) are poles apart in their method of apprehending and expressing objective reality sidetrack the main spirit of scientific culture, which is based on the materialists theory of knowledge and social change through production, scientific and technological discoveries, and class struggle, all such practices, inlcuding art and literature, which represent men's attempts at understanding and changing their social environment towards higher levels of development.

The national democratic culture is mass culture because it draws from the wealth of ideas, experiences, skills, sentiments, and aspirations of the broad masses of the people, synthesize and raise them to the level of the typical (that is, to the direction towards which the revolutionary forces are advancing), and bring them back to the masses to serve them in their practical life, and through practice raise the level of their experiences to a higher level, and so forth. Mass culture embodies the democratic and collective ideals of the people, serves their struggles and depicts them as the

decisive force in social change.

This is unlike the so-called mass culture being dished out by the cultural entrepreneurs of the ruling classes for mass consumption, which continually recycles outworn and outlandish sentiments, values and habits of thinking which no longer correspond to the needs of an awakened people and which are, in fact, geared to pull people away from any revolutionary enterprise.

Neither does this mass culture of national democracy have anything to do with the term "culture of poverty" which anthropologists have coined following their observations of the ways by which the urban poor cope with their day-to-day existence in the cities. Instead of being just a pocket of culture created by the poor as mechanism of survival, the mass culture of national democracy asserts the democratic character of a people's culture which challenges the entire structure of the dominant elitist, anti-mass culture of the ruling classes.

While mass culture represents the collective interests of all the revolutionary and progressive forces of the present Philippine society, and is in fact created and advanced by these forces for change, at its helm are the workers and peasants who comprise the majority of the population and who are in fact at the forefront of the national democratic struggle.

The national, scientific and mass culture developing in the Philippines today, as a component part of the entire national democratic revolution, has the task of profoundly overhauling the cultural superstructure in a semicolonial, semifeudal system, in order to transform it into one that truly advances the interests of the people. The new culture is broad-based, eroding urban-rural boundaries set by the ruling classes and thoroughly reflective of the national enterprise of the Filipino people. As this culture is anti-imperialist and antifeudal, its development has an international significance, especially among peoples carrying out the same struggles for national liberation, democracy and progress. Its international significance may also be surmised through its links with the socialist cultural revolution, of which the national democratic cultural revolution is an early phase, its political-ideological directions set by the proletariat as the advanced detachment of the laboring classes.

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SOMEWHERE IN THE COUNTRY(SIDE)

Notes on the Life, Struggles, Art and Literature of the Peasants in a Guerrilla Front (And How Urban-based Artists and Writers May Serve Them)

MY REPORT is on the practice, use and importance of art and literature among the poor peasants, farm workers and their armed contingents in the countryside, within the context of their life and struggles against fascist, feudal and US imperialist rule and their aspirations for national liberation and democracy, such struggles and aspirations as are shared by all the oppressed and exploited people in a semicolonial, semifeudal society such as the Philippines. And having done this, to surmise on what Manila-based, or any urban-based, artists and writers may do to help the masses in their struggles, specifically through their art and literature, and in the process develop themselves as true artists and writers of the people.

In order to do this task, I had to rummage through my old files to look for some usable materials I might have laid aside, and what did I find? A set of five small brown notebooks tightly wrapped in plastic, preserving the smell and mud and sweat of the countryside. I do remember these notebooks, they were entrusted to me by an old friend, with no instructions on what to do with them during or after the reign of the US-Marcos dictatorship. The notebooks contained his day-to-day jottings of briefings, interviews, observations and occasional fancies while in a guerrilla front in northern Luzon in 1981, definitely on an exposure tour to see how things really were, paying special attention to the artistic and literary

situation in the area. You see, my old friend was (is?) a student of people's culture, a Manila-based petty bourgeois writer just like most of us here. Shame on him for not having reclaimed his notebooks from my rotting boxes, since it is he alone who can fully make head or tail of his notations for the benefit of us all.

Well, I'm taking the liberty to make public some of his notations for whatever they're worth, explain them whenever necessary and if I can, and from them (as well as from other sources of information on this line of work from the other regions) make certain inferences as to what have been the developments in art and literature in the countryside, as well as to what we can do, as artists and writers based in the city, to make our art and literature serve the masses in struggle, and how we can help the artists and writers among them to create, increase their ranks, and improve their own art and literature.

Here, then, are the selected entries:

29 Marso

Nag-ublag.

His first day must have been a disappointment. He really timed his coming to be part of the celebration for you know what.

Ublag means to sleep on the hillside, done by most peasants as a precautionary measure especially when government military forces are active in the area.

31 Marso

Report ni Ka Domeng tungkol sa selebrasyon sa lugar na kinikilusan niya:

Drama: "Akala ng masa, totoo."
Dumalo ang 80 magsasaka mula sa 5 baryo.

Isa pang report mula sa isang SYP [Sandatahang Yunit Propaganda].

Nakateyp ang isinagawa nilang programa na dinaluhan ng 10 magsasaka.

Laman ng teyp: talumpati, tula ni Ka Amado, isang kanta tungkol sa Ina, "Baleleng."

2 Abril

Camp rules:

1. Iwasan ang sobrang ingay.
2. Kung aalis, ipaalam sa mga kasama.
3. Gising, 4:30 ng umaga.
4. Exercise tuwing umaga.
5. Kung may marinig na kaluskos, ipaalam.
6. Kung tatae, ipaalam sa katabing kasama.
7. Sa oras ng pagkain, hindi sabay-sabay. 20 minutes each batch.
8. Kung maliligo, huwag mag-iwan ng sabon sa ilog. Linisin ang mga bato.
9. Curfew: 11 pm. Walang kwentuhan.

From a post in the village, he was obviously brought to an NPA camp in the surrounding mountains.

Baritiktik.
Balug.
Papa (parang patu).
Salapingaw.
Alimukken.

Birds in the mountain fastnesses.

Here, he begins to take note of the striking sound of Iloko, the regional language.

5 Abril

Talk with Ka Calixto, Ka Rito re NPA songs.

Songs withdrawn during the period 1973-76 dahil malulungkot:

"Araw na Lubhang Mapanglaw"
"Mendiola"

A song sung to the tune of "Come Back to Sorrento."

Masisiglang kanta:

"Ang Buong Daigdiga'y Naglalagablab"
"Estratehiya Isa Laban sa Sampu"

Ginagamit ng pasistang militar ang kanta para papanghinain ang determinasyon ng NPA sa paglaban.

Ex: "Bahay Ko, Nasaan Ka?" used during the balik-bahay campaign as part of Operation Borealis.

2/2 ang beat ng kanta, nagiging 3/4 pag kinanta na ng masa.

Kantang ginagawa ng masa:
"Kansyon Dagiti Nagrali"

Ka Calixto recites "Isang Dipang Langit."

The popularity of this and other poems of Amado Hernandez must be attributed to the First Quarter Storm activists who had gone to the countryside even before the declaration of martial law in late 1972.

6 Abril

Mga baril ng NPA:
M79 – pinakamalakas
M16 – pinakamabilis, awto
M60 masinggan – malakas
M14 – malakas
M1 carbine
M11 carbine, awtomatik

browning, siatgan, awtomatik
tom son, awtomatik
M38
M22
M32
garan – malakas
string pild garan – malakas
dusgan tomson, awtomatik
boksiat
pal jet

Listing made by Ka Dante, 15 years old.

(Ka Dante: Nag-oorganisa ng mga bata, 7-13 years old, para sa gawaing tulad ng pag-si sa kaaway, tipo ng baril; pagpopularisa ng rebolusyonaryong awit; produksyon; pag-oorganisa sa kanilang ka-edad.

si - social investigation.

From Ka Diomy, 27 years old, nagtuturo ng Panimulang Kursong Pangmasa:

1. Paraan ng pag-iisip ng masa: paligoy-ligoy, madetalye.
2. May break sa mga study meeting para hindi mabagot ang mga mag-aaral at nang mag-tining ang pinag-aaralan.
3. Para hindi maging abstrakto ang pag-aaral, kailangang gamitin ang termino at karanasan ng masa.

Pumpuno:
Tibbeg.
Samak.
Kariskis.
Baringkukurong.
Damilig (sabang tsonggo, saging matsing).

7 Abril

Demo-rally sa isang baryo:
Grupo ng mga nanay.
Grupo ng mga magsasaka.
Grupo ng mga estudyante.

Slogans sa mga plakard:
Iboykot ti plebisito!
Pasublian dagiti pina-ebakwet!
Gatan berdugo!
Gador berdugo!
Rebbeken ti Constitusyon ti 1973!
Isardeng kinaranggas militar!
Normalisasyon panangalillaw!
Dusaen dagiti PC, Army ken BSDU nga agpapatay ti tao nga awanan basul!

Remember the EDSA "heroes"? Gador, who counted as one, recently fell to the sea while doing some parachute diving exercise.

Two kids selling pandesal seen for the first time in the barrio. Spies?

7:30 am – 9:30 am.

Return to camp. Assessment of demo-rally:

1. Kulang pa ng training ang mga tagapagsalita.
2. Kailangan pa ng popularisasyon ng mga rebolusyonaryong awitin.

Food:
Talong.
Natnateng.
Tupig.
Kurus.
Bagong.
Tuyo.
Kaimito.

9 Abril

Case: Ka Dennis, 19-20 years old. Nasa propa for about a year. One of six recruited by Arting. Production work sa "Baringkuas," V-type. Organizing work sa kabataan sa baryo. Led study of Panimulang Kursong Pangmasa with 28 youth. Ka Larry taught Dennis such songs as:

"Di Tay Agsaremaddeng"
"Apay Kastoy ti Kasasaad" (to the tune of "Melody of Love")
"Agriing Ka, Agtutubo"

1980, sumapi sa NPA.

Ka Relin, Medical: Karaniwang mga sakit sa lokalidad:
malaria
uyek
panating
sakit ti tiyan
ulcer
sugat

Ka Popong: machine gun with a basket of medicines.

Ka June constructing a tiny hut while husband attends meeting.

Here's one for women's libbers!

12 Abril

dalawang unan,
plantsado't nakaalmirol na kumot,
banig,
kahoy na sahig.

Breakfast: cocoa, sardinas, kanin.

As these conveniences suggest, he has moved from the camp to the barrio along with some NPAs.

Dalawang babae sa harap ng kubo. Ang isa ay nanunulsi ng retaso. Sa Isabela sila nagmula, naghahanap ng lupang matatamnan. Kahit sa Cagayan ay wala ring gaanong lupa. Nagtatanim sila ng palay, munggo, mani para sa gamit ng pamilya, ang iba'y naipagbibili.

Re March 29 celebration sa baryo:

300 tao ang dumalo, mula 1 hanggang 5 pm.

Nagmiting ang mga representative ng 5 baryo noong 27 Marso para paghandaan ang anibersaryo. Buong araw ng 28 Marso, nagpraktis.

Nilalaman ng programa:

1. Speeches tungkol sa kahalagahan ng kilos masa.

2. Dula: Ang isa'y tungkol sa pagpapalayas sa masamang asendero, ang isa nama'y tungkol sa paglaya ng kababaihan.

3. Awit: Luma at bago.

Dula: "Molde" – pinapartikularisa ng kongkretong kundisyon ng pakikibaka sa isang lugar.

"Replay" – from reality to stage.

Case: Ka Benny, 21 years old. Estudyante, kumikilos sa eskwela. Led mass actions against lack of facilities, forced labor. Nahuli nang magpunta sa bahay na ginamit ni Cherry. Nakuha ang mga pangalan ng mga lider estudyante. Binugbog ng mga CHDF, kasama ang mayor. Lumabas ng safehouse ang mga demonyo, sinubukan ni Benny na tanggalin ang posas. Primero, kutsara, hindi umubra. Hinila ang

posas sa poste ng kama, natanggal. Walang bantay, lumabas si Benny, umugnay sa hukbo.

13 Abril

Sesyon tungkol sa dyaryong pangmasa sa rehiyon:

Hindi sapat ang pagbabasa, dapat talakayin ang babasahin sa masa at mga kasama.

10:56 am. Helicopter. Enemy reconnaisance.

Rest time: Singing revolutionary songs, mostly in Iloko.

Kinokopya ng masa ang mga kanta, tula.

Gitara, most know how to play the guitar.

Ang NPA, hindi lamang marunong sa pakikidigma; marunong din siyang umawit.

Pangmasang Pagkilos:
antipyudal
antipasista
anti-imperyalista

Antipyudal:

1/1 neto – hindi pa naisasapraktika dahil wala pang ani. To be applied batay sa partikular na kalagayan.

Antipasista:

Pinatay na babae. Nag-protesta ang masa. Delegation to file complaint.

Petisyon kontra ebakwasyon. Resulta: ikinonsentra na lang ang mga tao sa sentro ng baryo, hindi sa haywey.

Masaker sa tatlong bata at kanilang nanay. Sa libing, umatras ang mga tao dahil sa mapu-

pulang salitang nakasulat sa kabaong. Maraming CHDF sa paligid. Tinanggal na lang ang streamer, pinintahan ng pula ang kabaong. People from 4 barrios attended.

A nun came to get facts. A CI [Civilian Informer] wants to kill the father to destroy the remaining evidence.

"Puro met masa ti papatayen da. Bigyan n'yo na lang kami ng baril at lulusubin na namin ang kampo!"

Simposyum sa apat na baryo. Napakilos ang mga panggitnang pwersa. Inimbitahan ang mayor. Takot ang mayor. Wala pang resulta.

Rali ng mga bata, 400 sila, mula sa 4 na baryo.

Placards:

Rasyon ti kasapulan, haan nga timbang!
Maestra ti kasapulan, haan nga soldados!

Dapat naiintindihan ang nilalaman ng kanta, hindi lamang natutuwa sa tono.

Dapat ipaliwanag ang nilalaman ng kanta. Pag-aralan ang kanta, dalawa o tatlong kanta bawat buwan, ipaliwanag ang nilalaman.

"Hindi pa natatasa ang kaalaman ng mga kasama na magbasa at magsulat."

"Mas komun ang marunong magbasa."

"Marunong magbasa't magsulat, pero malabo ang mata!"

"Marunong magbasa't magsulat, pero may almoranas!"

That's people's humor we may try to unravel.

Batayan sa pagbanat sa CHDF:

1. May utang na dugo.
2. Nananabotahe sa rebolusyon.

Cases: Mag-ama, may tuwirang kinalaman sa pagpatay sa isang aktibista. Lihim na impormer, sinusubaybayan ang kilos ng mga kasama. Isang mama, kumukuha ng retrato.

15 Abril

Helicopter.

Produksyon ng mga lokal na babasahin, gawa na ng mga organisadong masa sa sentro. V-type. Papel, tinta, sa masa na.

Re "Tambang:"
"Gusto namin, kasi pamilyar ang istorya."

Awit, collective ang paggawa, ipapablis sa "Baringkuas," tapos, popularisasyon.

This is an illustrated story pamphlet based on a successful NPA tactical offensive in Bataan.

Shrub with sparse flowers, thin, small, white, five-petalled, one petal with dark violet streak close to the base. Pistil violet and white, with a sprinkling of violet specks on other petals (outer edge). Heart-shaped leaves.

That's really close observation!

Gabi. May kasamang kumakanta ng mga kanta ni Eva Eugenio. Pinuna ng ibang mga kasama.

16 Abril

With Ka Jovy:

Popular na radio programs sa buong kapuluan:

"Diego Bandido" – Inasawa ng bida ang kanyang ina para makuha ang mga titulo ng lupang maipamamahagi sa mga magsasaka.

"Scimatar" – pantasya, mga mangkukulam, manananggal, at may tagapagligtas na laging nakakabayo.

Sa tv:

"Flor de Luna," na nagpapabango sa militar. Pyudal na pagkamatiisin.

Tungkol sa relihiyon: May damdamin pa rin ang masa sa mga santo. Mga larawan mula sa kalendaryo, istatwa. Mali ang mga kasama sa pagsasabi ng "Putang'na" kapag nakakakita ng mga ito sa bahay ng masa.

17 Abril

Case: Ka Claro, 28 years old.

Gustong magsulat (tula, kwento, news) pero walang confidence sa kakayahan.

Ayaw ng mga rebolusyonaryong awiting parock. Gusto ang dating mga awit (pre-martial law).

This guy's one of those activists in Manila who had gone to the countryside even before the declaration of martial law.

18 Abril

5 pm. Benny reciting a poem by Ka Amado Hernandez. Tapos, kinanta niya ang "Bayan Ko."

A one-man program!

Programa ng Distrito:

Sa rebolusyonaryong kultura: Pag-aaral ng ilang kanta at daniw [tula]. Esensya ng mga awit, kapasidad ng mga kasamang maintindihan ito at maipaliwanag sa masa.

"Internasyunal"
"3/8 Disiplina ng BHB"
"Tunggalian ng mga Uri"
"Baleleng"
"Mangmangged ken Mannalon"
"Magsasaka sa Bukid"

Tula:
Lumuha Ka, Aking Bayan"
"Pulang Tagumpay"

Sa pangmasang kampanya sa kabuhayan: pagtatanim ng saging, kamoteng kahoy, halamang gamot, etc. Pagtatayo ng kooperatiba na magtitinda ng produkto ng masa sa mas mataas na halaga.

23 Abril

Mga ibong pinanghapunan:

salaksak – electric white wings, blue, black, brown, with long, deep-red beak.

kiao (oreole) – orange top body; black wings, a crown of orange and black.

baritiktik – long beak, sharp, incised edges, with a nose-like structure on top of beak.

Ka Liling: "Kailangang mabilis, militante ang pagkanta. Kung hindi, parang pasyon ang resulta.

24 Abril

Re movies: "Sierra Madre," pinatay ang mga aktibista. "Julian Makabayan," nag-asawa ang isang magsasaka at anak ng asendero. "Sakada," banned.

Re pop songs: Coritha, paborito ng mga tagabundok.

Mga kasama, natututong magsalita sa Pilipino sa loob ng kilusan.

Kabab-bagas– kahulugan.

24 Abril

Hapunan. Walang ulam.

25 Abril

Agahan. Walang ulam.

Ka Oret: "Sino ba si Hitler!" "Ano ang kahulugan ng illegitimate, habeas corpus?"

Panty ang brief ng mga NPA.

So that merchants in the town centers may not suspect heavy concentration of males in a barrio, women sent on an errand buy panties instead of briefs for use by the NPAs.

27 Abril

Daang pinuno ng graba para hindi maputik sa tag-ulan. Bukid. Mga bahay ng masa, ang ila'y hindi na tinitirhan. Bahay nina Nelson binubuhat para ilipat.

Metal tube mula bundok patungong mga sityo. May tubig kahit tag-ulan.

Isang babae, naliligo nang hubo't hubad sa ilog, kasabay ang isang baboy. Gayunman, ang daloy ng tubig ay mula sa babae patungong baboy.

Ka Luz, Ka Bugoy, a little love story.

Bumili kami ng manok. May bonus pang luya, papaya at itlog! Kumuha kami ng dahon ng sili sa daan, malapit sa palaisdaan.

Sa isang bahay ng masa, isang batang babae, pinatutulog niya ang kanyang kapatid. Kinakanta niya ang "Baleleng."

Diskusyon sa ilang kabataan sa hukbo: Three Worlds policy of China, Revolutionary struggle sa Thailand, Soviet social imperialism, US bases in the Philippines.

Mayo-Hunyo, tampok ang kilusang boykot. Patuloy pa ring itataguyod ang ibang kampanya pero tuwirang ikakabit at itutuon sa kilusang boykot sa eleksyong presidensyal.

28 Abril

Hapunan sa bahay ng kapitan del baryo. Ulam: tulya, gulay na may sardinas.

Sa labas ng bahay, may malaking grupo ng mga batang nagteteyp ng mga rebolusyonaryong awitin.

Nagkwento ang kapitan: may balak daw ang gubyerno na palitan ang pangalan ng Gattaran, on the assumption that with the change of name will come a change of heart, too.

29 Abril

5:30 pm. Balita tungkol sa isang ambus. Patay ang mga kalaban. May dumating na raw na support group ang mga kabusor [kalaban], nasa kabilang baryo, about 20 troopers.

Nagmadaling kumain ng hapunan (paksiw na ayungin, gulay), at nag-ublag.

May kasalan bukas sa sentro. Ngayon pa mang gabi ay may sayawan na. Dinig na dinig ang tunog ng musika: tango, disco music.

May mga bisitang mula sa ibang probinsya. Gusto raw makakita ng NPA.

30 Abril

Umaga. Cultural training program for young activists. Purpose: cultural program beginning May 4.

Idadrama ang Praymer hinggil sa normalisasyon bilang bahagi ng kampanya sa Mayo-Hunyo.

Laman ng bakpak ng isang NPA:

3 long pants o parakyut
3 t-shirts, dark-colored
1 long sleeves
1 plastic sheet
2 sako
dokumento, sigarilyo
gamot
rubber shoes, tsineleas
1 plastic glass
toothbrush
kutsara
hunting knife
bawang

Parakyut, manipis, magaan, madaling labhan at matuyo.

Iba pang ari-arian:
cartamoneda with photos
twalya na nakatali sa ulo o nakasampay sa balikat
armas
belt ng bala
granada
rifle o short gun

2 Mayo

7:30 am. Pag-aaral ng mga aktibista:

Kultura – panangpatibker ti kapanunotan

ti masa. Cancion, daniw, drama. Drama, ipakpakita no kasano ti paglaban ti kabusor.

Hindi katulad ng kulturang burges. Burges: para makalimutan ng tao ang kanyang mga problema. Para hindi na lumaban.

Kaya nga rebolusyonaryo, para lumaban.

Crossing the fields at night. Hindi mo nakikita ang daan. Nakapako ang mga mata mo sa nauunang kasama. Minsan pababa, dahandahan, o bigla. Pitak sa lupang pinaggapasan pa lamang. A burbling sound, a sudden gleam of a narrow brook, a continuous croaking of frogs. Matitinik na halaman. Papaakyat ang lakad.

Binulabog ng militar ang martsa noong Mayo 1. Ang rally ngayong Mayo 2 ay hindi rin natuloy dahil nakuha sa minibus ang streamers na dala ng mga babae.

3 Mayo

Rehearsals.

Activists divided into groups:
Speakers
Poetry
Singing
Drama

4 Mayo

Rehearsals: speech, songs, skit.

Words of popular songs changed to suit purpose of campaign.

A youth activist writes a poem for the campaign.

3 pm. Cultural show.

25 performers, 70 peasants and their families as audience.

Kakanin.

5 Mayo

Assessment re first cultural show:

Epektibo ang drama, kaya lang, mas huhusay kung mas dikit sa Praymer.

Hindi dapat hinati-hati ang pwersa sa mga grupo.

Helicopter.

Case: Ka Boni

"1978, naririnig ko na ang tungkol sa mga NPA. Isa sa mga naririnig ko: pumapatay sila ng tao. Nang mabalitaan kong may mga NPA sa isang bahay sa baryo namin, nangahas akong pumunta doon para lamang makita ko ang kanilang itsura. Hindi naman sila mukhang masasamang tao. Tinanong ko kung pumapatay sila ng mga tao. Oo, ang sabi nila, pero yaong kumikilos lamang laban sa masa.

Kinalaunan, nabalita na ako raw ay masamang tao. Ikinalat ito ng isang iresponsableng tao. Dumating sa bahay ko ang NPA para tanungin ako tungkol dito. Wala akong ginagawang masama.

Isang araw ay dinala ako sa bakir. Tinanong ako kung gusto kong sumama sa kilusan. Itinaas ang aking kamao. Sinabing patigasin ko

ang aking kamao. Binasa sa akin ang panunumpa, at sumumpa ako.

Akala ko, NPA na ako, at bibigyan ako ng baril. Pero hindi. Kumilos pa rin ako sa baryo. Nabuburyong ako sa gawaing ito. Binibigyan kami ng pag-aaral pero hindi pumapasok. Hindi pa kasi taimtim ang aking pag-aaral."

Later, uminit siya. Naging fulltime. Hindi na makapagsaka. Iligal ang pagkilos sa baryo.

Samantala, ang kanyang asawa ay nagtataka kung bakit hindi na niya halos inaasikaso ang kanilang kabuhayan. Pinamulatan unti-unti, hanggang sa siya mismo ay magsimula nang kumilos.

Kung minsan, para subukan ni Ka Boni ang kanyang asawa, sasabihin niyang ayaw na niyang kumilos. Sagot naman ng kanyang asawa: "Kung magtatayo ka ng bahay, inuumpisahan mo ang mga poste, ang bubong, ang sahig. Bakit mo iiwang walang dingding?"

Sa gayon ay kumilos na rin bilang fulltime ang kanyang asawa.

Ang kanilang isang ektaryang lupa ay inaasikaso ng timpuyog [peasant association] at umaani lamang ng 30 kabanes.

Kasama ang halos may isandaang mag-aaral, ang mag-asawa ay nandoon sa bundok nang ito'y bombahin ng kaaway.

"Sinabing papalitan daw ang pangalan ko. Apay ngay, nasiyaat met ti nagan ku. Para seguridad, sabi nila, para haan maamo ti kabusor. Sige ngarud."

Re cultural show:

Ligal, kaya hindi ipina-agaw sa masa ang baril ng kaaway.

Kaya lang, may mga islogang hindi ligal (Rebolusyon, Hindi Eleksyon!) at may mga kantang hindi ligal ("Internasyunal")

7 Mayo

8:15 am. Helicopter.

10 Mayo

Alas singko ng hapon, umuulan. Nabasa kami sa kampo. Walo kaming lahat. Pagtila ng ulan, bumaba kami patungong baryo. Madulas ang bundok. Nakituloy kami sa isang bahay ng masa. Sa kabilang bahay, kumakanta ang mga bata ng rebolusyonaryong awit. Pagdilim, tumawid kami ng bukid. Bumabaon ang aming mga paa sa putik. Humimpil kami sa isang bahay. Hindi ko kaagad nakilala ang bahay. Noong makita ko na lamang ang mga retratong nakakwadro at saka ko nakilala ang bahay. Kumain kami ng suman, patupat.

Kailangang makagawa ng mga simpleng writing guides: manipesto, praymer, polyeto, petisyon, slogan, vignette, short story, tulang pabigkas. How to direct a play.

11 Mayo

Umaga. Rehearsal ng mga aktibista para sa palabas mamayang hapon kasabay ng isang kasalan.

Palabas noong pista sa Bataan: 430 ang nanood.

Palabas sa Peak: 300 ang nanood. Nagpakain sa buong baryo ng dikket, suman at kape.

Sa may bandang dulo ng dula: Masyadong oa ang pag-arte ng isang aktor: nanginginig na masa sa harap ng militar.

Kumanta sa palabas ang kababaihan.

Plano ng mga naghaharing uri na palitan ang pangalan ng Gattaran. Luma na raw (300+ taon na). Pero ang tunay na dahilan ay para itago ang tunay na kalagayan sa lugar.

Gwapo nga baboy.

Kwento re Ama-ama, a religious sect which recruited members from an entire barrio in Gattaran. They left their fields for what is called Paradise Land in Raya. They work in common in the fields without hats and boots. They wash their hands from a basin of water which they also drink, and not a speck of rice is left on the table. No medicine except coconut oil for any illness. The head of the sect and his family impose discipline on members, but it is they themselves who are the cause of irregularities in the camp. They rape women, slap old men, etc.

14 Mayo

Demo, 2:30 pm. 300 lakay, baket, kabanbanuagan, ubbeng. Also, Aggay, tipong Ita.

Placards: Iboykot ti eleksyon!

Kwento ng masa:

Utos ng militar, "Dapa! Dapa! Dapa kayong lahat! Ikaw, bakit hindi ka dumadapa?"

"Sir, kasi puti ang damit ko."

Isa namang babae, pinatitindig na ay nanatiling nakadapa pa rin, dahil sa takot.

Sesyon ni Ka Vox sa mga aktibista hinggil sa paggawa ng manipesto laban sa pagbabago ng pangalan ng Gattaran sa Sto. Domingo.

First draft: Pinuna ang nilalaman.
Second draft: Pinuna ang istilo, paggamit ng lenggwahe.
Resulta: Natan-ok. Marangal.

15 Mayo

5 am. Foggy fields. Floating tops of coconut trees. Pale outline of hills. Ducks, pigs, chickens, and a carabao grazing in the dew-wet fields; while a young peasant, riding on his carabao, goes through the mist for an early start.

Song collections around:

"Mga Awit ng Ating Panahon"
"Ibong Malaya: Mga Awit ng Kalayaan at Pakikibaka"

Pagsasaka sa Nueva Vizcaya:

1. Ani sa isang ektarya:
   may patubig — 60-80 cavan palay
   walang patubig — 30-40
2. Abang iti daga, — 1/3

Gastos iti maysa a mannalon iti maysa ektaria a mapadanuman:

Kabuklan nga apit 72 cavan
Ikkaten ti 1/3 ti kabuklan nga apit kas bingay ti apot daga:

24 cavan

Nabati iti mannalon no di pay naikissay ti gastos iti panagtallon: 48 cavan

Ikkaten ti gastos:

tabas	P 100.00
arado	120.00
suyod	142.00
bin-i (2 cavan)	100.00
sikka (10 cavan kada reppet)	120.00
raep (pakyaw)	200.00
panagiruot (weeder)	70.00
abono	370.00
insektisidio	200.00
padanum (6 cavan)	300.00
gapas	160.00
tilyar	300.00
blow-out	80.00
Kabuklan a gastos:	P2,262.00

Kaibatogan daytoy iti irik 45.24 cavan

Mabati iti mannalon kalpasan a maikkat ti gastos 2.76 cavan

From: "Baringkuas," Nob. 30, 1980

Mga drowing sa "Baringkuas" (Nob. 30, 1980):

– Pag-agaw ng baril.

– CHDF, naka-Bagong Lipunan t-shirt, bulging belly, unshaved moustache, spotted hat, arms with rifle raised in surrender.

– Pulang mandirigma, young, handsome, forefront, holding a ready long-barrelled gun.

– Asendero, bulging belly, panot na ulo, body shaking with fear.

19 Mayo

Kabataang aktibista gumagawa ng poster. Kartolina. Ginamit na batayan ang drowing sa "Baringkuas" sa paglalarawan ng masa at EU-Marcos.

21 Mayo

am. Pulong ng kababaihan. 13 sila.

Subject ng pulong: Normalisasyon, boykot eleksyon.

Batayan sa pag-aaral: Praymer.

What some are doing while having the meeting: Isa, kinakamot ang likod ng anak. Isa, nagpapasuso. Isa, hinihila ang himulmol ng bestida. Isa, nagpapatulog ng anak sa duyan.

Isang matandang babae: "Kailangang kumilos tayo nang kolektibo para ipagtanggol ang ating mga karapatan. Kung may armas tayo, lumaban tayo nang may armas. Huwag tayong umasa sa iba, umasa tayo sa ating sariling pagkakaisa. Ganyan naman ang aking pagkakaintindi."

Nakaeskaparate ang mga larawan at istatwa ng Holy Family, Cristo Rey, Virgin Mary.

Kanta sa pagtatapos ng miting:
"Awan ti intay mauray"
"Di tay Agsarimadeng"

Mimeo production house. Mula sa sentro ng baryo, dadaan ka sa isang tulay na troso sa ilog na umaapaw sa water lily. Ang bahay ay malayo sa ibang bahay. Burol ang likuran, harapan ay bukid. Sa labas, malapit sa mga puno ng niyog, nakabilad ang basa pang mimeo paper. May 5 kasapi ang production team.

Miting ng cultural group: pagtatasa, pag-aaral, pagpaplano.

Pwersa sa umpisa: 26
Pwersa sa ngayon: 11

Palabas sa Bataan: 31 pwersa
Dagdag mula Peak: 7
Dagdag mula Bataan: 4
Palabas sa Peak: 16
Palabas sa Salem: 17

Sa apat na palabas, sinu-sino ang nakadalo sa ilang palabas?

4 times – 7
3 times – 11
2 times – 10

28 aktibo

May dagdag na 14 na napakilos sa panapanahon.

Ilan ang nanood sa apat na palabas?
Ilang baryo?

Island	100	1
Bataan	800	10
Peak	350	2
Salem	150	8
	1,400	21

Reaksyon ng masa: Nagtanong sila tungkol sa ibig sabihin ng malakolonyal; normalisasyon; at kung bakit boykot.

Epekto ng palabas sa grupo:
naikkat ti babbaen
napadur-as ti kapanunotan
naipakita ti kabaelan
(talent) ti tinggal maysa
natutong magpakilos

Negatibo:

Pagkanta ng iligal na bersyon ng "Baleleng" sa halip na yaong ligal na bersyon.

Hindi nagkoleksyon dahil nahihiya, kurakot daw. Hindi ito pangungurakot, para sa bayan, hindi sa indibidwal, ang pera.

Kulang sa militansya ang pagkanta, kasla pampaturog.

Ridiculing the masses (a peasant shown trembling before the enemy)

Paano mapahuhusay pa:

1. Paunegin pay ti kaamuan iti isyu.
2. Technicals.

Recomendasyon:

pagpapaliwanag ng isyu
drama exercises
script-writing

22 Mayo

Balitang dala ni Ka James: Kinubkob ng PC-CHDF ang isang District Guerrilla Unit na nakapwesto sa isang kubo sa may burol. 50 ang kaaway. Isang kasama ang tinamaan sa hita, hindi nakaatras sa killing zone, pinatay. Ang iba'y mahusay na nakatalilis. Na-tip ang mga kasama. Alas dose ng tanghali.

Habang nagpapraktis ang cultural group, may nakitang nagtitinda ng asin. Pinatsek. Taga-Barawidan, kilala ng mga tao, OK lang.

"Jingjing, para jingjing," kantang mula Mindanaw, inadap sa rehiyon.

Kinaranggas militar sa Lallo:

– nagpapaputok sa bahay ng masa.
– panagmartilyoda ti abaga (shoulder blade).
– panangbutbutengda.
– pangalada ti manok.
– isang kabataan, hinihingan ng pambili ng alak; nang walang maibigay, sinakay sa Fiera, hanggang ngayon, nawawala.
– pagpatay sa minorya.
– panagtakawda ti pati, tabla, airgun, buning, radyo, manok nga pangati, itlog, aso, kaldero, lagari, palayok, sapatos, saba.
– panangpilit a panagtrabaho ken panagdawat kadagiti materyales para iti kampo da.

– sapilitang kontribusyon ng bigas.
– pagpapa–CHDF ng 8 tao.
– paglalasing, pag-utang ti arak ken sigarilyo.
– panagsugalda; pamimilit sa masa na magsugal din.
– sapilitang pagpapakuha ng tubig ken panaglaba na walang sweldo.
– sapilitang pag-iimbita sa kadalagahan sa sayawan.

25 Mayo

8 pm. Sunud-sunod na putok! Alerto. 30 minutes na lakad (jumping)

Sa kubong tinuluyan: Sa maliit na butas sa pawid na dinding, kasyang-kasya ang kinalahating buwan. 3 am.

27 Mayo

Interview with Eduardo de la Cruz, 43, whose wife and 4 children were massacred.
Quote: "Ang pagkapatay sa aking pamilya ay hindi makapagpapahina sa aking paniniwala sa rebolusyon."

9 am. Programa ng mga bata.
Mga kanta:
"Mangmangged ken mannalon"
"Iwagayway ang bandilang pula"
"Baleleng"

Sagot ng mga bata sa tanong ni Ka Willie: "Walo kami, apo." Corrected by their mothers: "Walo kami, kadua!"

Kwento ng isang babae: "Natutulog ako, pero parang may gumagalaw sa ulunan ko. Itinaas ko ang kulambo, at muntik ko nang mahalikan ang isang BSDU, na nagbukas ng bintana at sinisilip kung sino ang nasa loob ng kulambo."

Shows her presence of mind. To delay enemy, inimbitang magkape ang mga BSDU. Inutusan ang anak na bumili ng kape, pero ang talagang pinuntahan ay ang bahay nina Ka Boni para magligpit ang mga kasama doon. Inubos ng kaaway ang tupig na inilalaan para sa cultural group, at kinuha ang malaking sugpo na nakabitin sa tapat ng lamesa.

Kung nagmamartsa sa bayan, itinatago ng mga babae ang mga petisyon at iba pang papel sa kanilang panty. Hindi na safe sa dibdib, sinisipat ng kaaway.

2 Hunyo

Isang literacy class para sa mga babbaket. 15 sila.

Balita: Ka Liling, nanganak na. Kulang sa buwan (7½ mos. lang). Lalaki. "Nagmamadaling magrebolusyon."

7 Hunyo

Putok, 6:45 am. Ligpit agad at nagtungo sa mas mahusay na pwesto. Hindi sinundan ang putok, so maaaring nagmula sa mga kasama na nagkakampo rin sa malapit. Nakaupo kami sa gitna ng maliliit pang punong-bayabas. Aali-aligid ang mga lamok. Mataas na ang araw. Humuhuni ang mga kuliglig.

Balita sa radyo:
Strike sa PAL
Boykot (June 16)
"Gusto pa namin kay FM!"

Sa pagbaba namin ng bundok, ang mag-asawang may-ari ng bahay na kinanan namin kagabi ay nasa kanilang kaingin na, nagtatanim ng binhing mais.

End of selected entries.

Our friend has presented the raw data on countryside life, setting his special interest, which is people's art and literature, within the texture of life and struggle of the poor peasants and their armed contingents. Our effort now is to frame certain generalizations on art and literature as they have emerged and continue to develop right at the center of people's war.

1. Art and literature in the countryside are created by people in struggle, and to advance their struggle. They are for their use, to educate, organize and mobilize their own ranks to fight and win the struggle.

2. The creation of these new art and literature is carried out in the midst of the domination of a ruling class culture, backward and reactionary and working against the interests of the masses. These latter art and literature must be replaced by a new art and literature that work for the people's interests, that can release their creative energies towards revolutionary change.

3. Countryside art and literature are familiar to the audiences consisting of poor peasants, farm workers and their armed contingents because they spring from their own life and struggles, they are done in their own language, and they raise their level of consciousness towards further struggles to achieve their goals.

4. These art and literature are continually recreated in struggle, in study and in rest, truly a part of their day-to-day life.

5. These art and literature are shared not only by the masses in one region, but in the other regions as well where there is struggle, because they speak of conditions, needs and aspirations common to the people.

These are people creating their own art and literature in the course of their struggle for national liberation and democracy, and that's fine, for this is happening everywhere in our country for the first time on a grand scale.

And where does that bring us, artists and writers based in urban centers? Of course, we have our own work to do, right in the city, especially among the industrial workers who are most concentrated here, and the middle forces who must be won over to the national enterprise for national liberation and democracy. But certainly, we can do this work most excellently at this historical juncture if we relate ourselves and our works with the most numerous segment of our population who are waging the main form and substance of the national democratic struggle.

What can we do?

1. Remember, they love Coritha, and Jess Santiago, too, and some others from the city, with names true and false. We can share our best works with them, works that suit their needs and conditions.

2. Study those works coming from the poor peasants, farm workers and their fighters, criticize them (and mind your criteria, for even these must be historicized), refine them for wider circulation in urban areas as well as in the countryside, and even abroad, where they can help generate international support for our struggle here. "Mga Kanta ng Rebolusyong Pilipino," Volume One, is a fine project done by Manila-based artists.

3. We can create works for countryside audiences which they can appreciate and use. But this is possible only if we know them, if we know their lives and struggles and where they're going, which is where (if you still don't know) we, too, are going. They love something like that balagtasan, "Manahimik o Mag-alsa," written by a cultural worker from U.P. (Los Banos), a revolutionary martyr.

4. We can depict their struggles in our art and literature for audiences in the urban centers. These works should generate support for the struggles of the masses in the countryside, and show how urban and country-

side struggles really support each other. Photographers and journalists and film-makers are doing a fine job along this line.

5. We can go to the countryside ourselves to learn from the masses, to train their artists and writers on how to organize, to create, to disseminate their works, all the while learning from their own experiences, too, a two-way traffic for mutual betterment. The best time to go there, they say, is during the rainy season, when government soldiers prefer the comfort of their camps, such time when it's so easy to merge with the murky sky and muddy earth and the drenched foliage of trees.

And bring those five small brown notebooks!

Lecture delivered during an assessment conference on people's art and literature sponsored by the Asian Council of People's Culture, August 1986.

II

POETRY OF A PEOPLE'S STATESMAN

(Review of *Prison and Beyond: Selected Poems, 1958-1983* by Jose Ma. Sison. Free Jose Ma. Sison Committee, 1984, pp. 132.)

LIKE SOME WELL-LOVED revolutionary statesmen of the Third World, Jose Ma. Sison combines leadership of the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy with his practice as a poet. He not only provides theoretical and practical leadership in the ongoing national democratic revolution ever since its inception in the early sixties; directly through his poetry, and theoretically through his essays on revolutionary cultural work, particularly in the field of literature and art, Sison also guides literary and art workers in their effort to produce works which truly serve the needs and interests of the masses of workers and peasants who are in the forefront of the present struggle.

His volume *Prison and Beyond* is his contribution, among other things, to the furtherance of the struggle in the political and cultural fronts, even as he continues to remain in jail as a political prisoner since his arrest in late 1977. The poems provide an approach to the mind and feeling of a revolutionary who turns his incarceration into one more field of battle and keeps himself abreast with the developments of armed struggle and

revolutionary mass movements in the countryside and cities. Secondly, they offer a study of Sison's poetic development for the past twenty-four years within the tradition of proletarian literature.

The fifty-two poems selected for the volume, thirty-two of which were written inside prison (from 1977 to 1983), are grouped into three parts. The first part consists of poems on people's war; the second on his state as a political prisoner; and the third on the prevailing conditions in Philippine society.

In the first part, armed struggle and the revolutionary mass movements are depicted through expansive nature images which operate either on the literal level, as in "The Central Plains" where the disposition of images follows the paratactic structure and whose syntactical evenness provides the tone of reverential homage to the productive skills of the basic masses and nature's bounty; or on the more dominant allegorical mode. In poems such as "Defy the Reptile," "The Woman and the Strange Eagle," "Against the Monster of the Land," and "From a Burning Bush," the Filipino people's struggle against US imperialism, feudalism and bureaucrat capitalism takes on the guise of combat against primeval forces of nature. Allegory, of course, lends itself well to public discourse, being a most transparent mode of trope. In the poems listed above, however, the employment of exalted rhetoric and fustian images only reduces to bathos, sentimentality and grotesquerie what is at core heroic human drama. It is in poems where nature images operate as extended tropes, whether within the structure of a dialectical sequence ("Rain and Sun on the Mountains") or logical sequence ("The Coming of the Rain") or as metaphor ("The Guerrilla is like a Poet") that the poet succeeds in capturing nature's sweep, subtlety and movement and providing it with the sentience of human strivings.

Nature takes central position in this section, representing as it does the countryside as the terrain of guerrilla warfare. Mastery of nature demolishes superstitious fears and turns it into a beneficent force, either as a factor in human productivity or in routing the enemy. In its primordial image as the forest, nature is transformed from an abode of "fickle-minded spirits and fairies" into a sanctuary and bastion of people's war:

But the forest is still enchanted.
There is a new hymn in the wind;

There is a new magic in the dark green,
So the peasant folks say to friends,
A single fighting spirit has taken over
To lure in and astonish the intruders.
("The Forest is Still Enchanted")

The poems establish the centrality of mastery of nature as condition of human productivity and people's war. An aspect of this mastery is being "enrhymed with nature," essentially Zen in origin, which suffuses one of Sison's most beautiful poems, "The Guerrilla is like a Poet;"

The guerrilla is like a poet.
He has merged with the trees
The bushes and the rocks.
Ambiguous but precise
Well-versed on the law of motion
And master of myriad images.

That Sison wrote much of these "nature" poems inside a detention cell, nature in its breadth and depth and exuberance, is itself a triumph of the spirit over the narrow confines of his present surroundings:

The trees raise their arms to the sky
And dance in a movement so spright.
The bushes raise and blend their voices
With the trees in song and laughter.
("The Coming of the Rain")

These nature poems, written in narrow and stark enclosures, are not just pastoral fantasies; they serve to construct a world where seas, mountains, plains, rain and storm, light and dark, wind and the North Star, a rose, etc., provide metaphorical equivalents for revolutionary upheavals in the countryside.

The second part of the volume consists of poems which sum up his experiences and thoughts as a political prisoner. While maintaining trope as a poetic device in generating meanings in such poems as "Like a Giant, like

a Bird," "In the dark depths," and "A Furnace," Sison generally resorts to statemental poetry to express his self-reflections and messages addressed to comrades and revolutionary masses, to his wife and children. Here, what otherwise would be sentences are harnessed into poetic line by the mere expedient of end-rhymes, and even this is observed none too strictly. In such poems, the authority of the poet as a revolutionary leader takes over, unmediated by syntactical or metaphorical structures, leaving the speaking voice – composed, optimistic, defiant – to communicate thoughts, feelings and hopes in a straightforward way. What endures in these testaments is the poet's revolutionary spirit that makes of simplicity and majesty the basis of eloquence, requiring of poetry nothing but its most peripheral sanctions.

This same voice and spirit serves as the abiding presence in the longest narrative poem in the collection, "Fragments of a Nightmare," certainly one of the most memorable feats in the history of Philippine poetry. This is Sison's recounting, in 30 stanzas of ten lines each stanza, of his ordeal in the hands of the enemy. The logical structure follows the broad chronological sequence of events – arrest, physical and psychological torture, sequestration, court trial – with the last two stanzas serving as epilogue. Through the narrating consciousness, the nightmare is objectified into a system of violence employed by the enemy against their captive. The lucidity with which the narrator-victim describes this system as it works on him, and his own willful exertions to subvert it through various devices, as it were, of counter-offensive – wit, wile, raillery, dream, poetry – is a triumph of the ideological and political will of a revolutionary, even in a state of captivity, over the enemy forces, including his own momentary negative impulses of self-destruction.

The third part gathers together 17 poems written earlier, 15 of them being selections from Sison's first poetry collection, *Brothers*, published in 1961. After more than two decades, the best of these *Brothers* poems have endured as finely etched emblems of Philippine reality, rich in the images of the social world and masterful in their formal and thematic structurings. As criticisms of a semifeudal and semicolonial society, these poems achieve the clarity of political ideas and commitment through well-observed phenomena, in a poetic voice resonant with irony as a weapon of indictment.

In "Hawk of Gold," US imperialist plunder of its colonies and semi-colonies is rendered through a powerful image from the natural world. The interweaving of image and idea in this short poem generates the tension between the natural and the political, the bird of prey and the heraldic sign. In "The Fish Stuffed" and "Across the Sun-drenched Square," the poet presents two studies on the big bourgeois and landlord classes, employing mock religious tone to expose the hollow symbols of power and respectability with which they embellish themselves. This sardonic criticism of the ruling classes takes on a wider dimension in "Carnival," where political, economic and cultural servitude to imperialist domination has bred a menagerie of profiteers, sycophants and other aberrations of humanity.

The violence which is at the core of the prevailing system and which serves to perpetuate its continuous rule is depicted in "Brothers" and "The Massacre," two poems which are historically situated (the latter poem is based on the Maliwalu incident) but whose reality haunts the sweep of Philippine history, encompassing the present and greatly so, for this violence directed against the masses, has reached the proportion of daily occurrences. "The Massacre" reconstructs the drama of military brutality and the sorrows of the peasant masses with balladic simplicity and ironic thrust:

> Where a neighborly voice said in the dark,
> "Just line up straight along this bank,
> Obey so you can go home quick."
> So they did, and the stream below turned purple.

In "Brothers," the connivance between US imperialists and their local puppets ("Handsome handfuls of strangers smartly conspired/Laughed with ornate native personages . . . ") is held responsible for the salvaging of the peasant masses.

While the above poems portray the basic masses as victims, "The Dark Spears of the Hours Point High" shows them in one great collective action to transform their destiny. The tension in the poem is built on the stasis of the ruling classes, on the one hand, and on the other, on the revolutionary energy of the masses, at the same moment in time ("midnight")

which augurs the end of the oppressors and the beginning of a new day for the oppressed masses.

Jose Ma. Sison's *Prison and Beyond* is a testament of a two-fold development, Sison as a revolutionary leader and as a poet, right at the center of the Filipino people's struggle for national liberation and democracy.

Published in *Who*, 3 Oct. 1984.

HOW NOT TO BE FREE

(Review of *To Be Free* by Edilberto Tiempo (New Day Publishers, 1972), pp. 334.)

OSTENSIBLY, THE MAIN ARGUMENT of Edilberto K. Tiempo's novel. *To Be Free*, is that individuals, bound by the ceremonious rigidities of traditional custom or swept away by the freewheeling whims of personal conduct, prove their worth and dignity through a long process of testing, whether this concerns the lives, loves and politics of the landowning class or the faithfulness of the ruled class, the *aripans*. The novel seems to be a search for the so-called bedrock decency that abides in the midst of changes that have transpired in Philippine history and ways of life for more than fifty years, starting from the late Spanish colonial administration up to the postwar period. For the principal character, Lamberto Alcantara, this search involves, first, a progress in the quality of discernment – that in matters of moral rectitude, the substance may remain where the form no longer avails – and second, an optimism in civilized man's capability to adapt himself in all circumstances at whatever time and place.

Seen from this moral angle, the romantic bravura and political tentativeness of Lamberto, the abstract, world-ranging idealism of his older brother Hilarion, the delightful insouciance of the first Luisa, Lamberto's wife, and the youthful recklessness and later self-mastery of the second Luisa, Lamberto's granddaughter, are individual expressions, for Lamberto, of their human value. The characters, the novel suggests, are their own judges, no matter how mundane their ambitions may be (Lamberto's daughter, Teodora, is concerned mainly about increasing her husband's weight and decreasing her own), or how high-flown ("Germany," – Hilarion lectures after his European tour of duty in 1917 during the First World War, as obviously one of the 25,000 Filipino mercenaries pledged by Sergio Osmena, then puppet Speaker of the House of Representatives, in support of the United States' imperialist opportunism in the profits of war and redivision of the world – "Germany had to be knocked out. It had to be done so that we can walk the streets without fear, even here."). Actions, historical as well as personal, and ideas and beliefs of individuals, as much as the fundamental mechanism of the historical epochs covered by the novel assume an uncontested importance of their own, personalized, or lackadaisically accepted or dismissed in the light of an undefined "matter of principle" or in the interest of a "wider picture."

Moral values as well as political ideas have a life in the matrix of a specific historical period, whether such values and ideas serve to prolong such a period or to undermine its ascendancy. To regard morality as a matter of private integrity alone, and politics as a process of unfolding an all-time, all-place concept of freedom whatever social forces are involved is to take such issues in a vacuum. This is clearly anomalous in a novel that presumes to situate the moral and political worth of its characters in well-defined strands of Philippine history. First serialized in 1966 under the title *Daughters of Time* and revised for the 1975 and 1977 editions under the present title, the novel forgoes the advantages of hindsight through a critical, ironic intelligence. As it is, the novel is hardly informed on recent revaluations of Philippine history, particularly on the role of social classes and the true significance of events, whether from the nationalist perspectives of Teodoro Agoncillo in the early sixties or the mass orientation of Renato Constantino and other later historians. The need for such an intellectual reassessment is not beside the point, for the novel proposes to embody, through gestures, persuasions and subjectivities of characters

interacting and affecting the course and texture of history, the Filipino people's search for freedom and, yes, morality.

Actually, the novel is a graciously sentimental and reverential view of the Philippine ruling classes, either in their role in history or in their personal lifestyles, positing their ideas and hopes as the crystallization of the Filipino experience and salvation. Such ideas and hopes may spring from a generalizing mind, typified by Hilarion's, which tends to turn the concrete experiences of other countries and peoples into abstract paradigms of behaviour and possibilities for his own country and people, or from a solitary sensibility constantly adjusting to the small particulars of objective historical developments. The distinction, the novel assures us, is only a variation in individual tempers: Lamberto and Hilarion, as representatives of the ruling classes from the richest landowning family of Bayombong, Nueva Vizcaya, are not ennobled by concerns beyond those of family, profession and property within a cozy social structure which is premised on the supremacy of their class.

Of the two, Hilarion seems to be the more politically agile. He is against the autocratic rule of the Spanish colonialists, against US intervention in the Filipino-Spanish war, against the creation of a family dynasty, against the Gaddang tradition of servitude, etc. But through all this is the mark of his ilustrado origin, interests and pitfalls, for his opposition may be nothing more than a mere question of legalism or moral scruple, or may hide a more grandiose careerism. Charging the US imperialists of employing more subtle forms of colonization, Hilarion turns up to be a fine product of the new colonial system itself, as witness his participation in the First World War as part of the American military contingent, his belief in two-party system and electoral processes, his faith in the American promise of liberation from the Japanese fascists through his support of the USAFFE, his defense of the interests of big American corporations through his legal practice, and his rejection of people's violence as a political expression of their anger against the collaborators running for public office after the war. He sees the political maturation of the people as an outcome of formal education and not of their concrete political training, aspirations and struggle.

While Hilarion's high-mindedness serves as a criticism against the use of guns, goons and money in Philippine politics, his own position as legal counsel to American corporations does not exempt him from the charge

he levels against the collaborators, that "what is legally right (i.e., their being absolved by the court of their collaborationist crimes) is not morally right." "Integrity," "matter of principle" – favorite words of Hilarion – become platitudes of a charlatan.

Lamberto, while not easily given to political thinking, plays a more active role in politics than his brother. He does not have a long view of things that his brother displays, nor the latter's preponderance for abstraction or idealism. For Lamberto, Hilarion is "ahead of his time" while he himself "moves, though slowly" although he finally acquires his brother's sense of the "larger picture," that which grants wisdom to US imperialist policy to serve as a self-appointed gendarme for "freedom" in this part of the world as elsewhere.

Primarily, political beliefs and actions for Lamberto are decided on personal grounds, hardly on ideological or historical factors. The superficial impresses him, whether this concerns his view of American largesse or his daughter's education, to give her "charm" and prepare her to be a "good wife." Indeed, his entry into politics is provoked by no less than a mere insult on the memory of his wife and his courtship ordeals; likewise, his earlier participation in the Revolution of 1896 was not motivated by the popular cause for freedom and independence but by personal animosity against a Guardia Civil captain and by a filial duty to free Tan Lucas, his father, from jail. During the Japanese Occupation, he would have preferred staying in office as a puppet governor of Bayombong, not because he had come to believe in the Japanese co-prosperity plan for the Philippines but because "it was so much easier to see Teodora's family" in Manila in this official capacity.

This reduction of politics to the narrow dimensions of personal enterprise, bounty or need, unmediated by large ideas or by a sharing with the collective experience of a people, leads Lamberto not only towards naive empiricism but also towards a stultifying mystification of historical realities: for example, he views the fascist policies of the Japanese military-zaibatsu complex to resolve its capitalist crisis through war as a matter of "dislocation of time and history," where defenders and aggressors alike are just innocent victims "caught in it" and "can't do anything about it." Moreover, this personalization leads him to the height of landlord presumption of magnanimity, as he frees his servant Rubio, the fifth descendant from a family of *aripans,* from the pledge of servitude to the Alcan-

tara clan and from the bondage of his class, lavishing him with money, land, house, carabaos, cows, sow, boar, goats, and a wedding, all expenses paid. Sometimes, this magnanimity is not entirely without selfish calculations: his project of developing a reservation for the Igorots, "similar to those for the Indians" in the United States, is presumably to prevent their disintegration, but in actuality, it is aimed at saving the rich forests areas for Lamberto's timber concessions.

To be Free is not about a people's struggle for freedom, unless one is fool enough to grant that that farcical slogan, "Being free is feeling free" is, indeed, the very essence of our people's aspirations. It is not about morality either, for its sense of human values is not of the noblest measure of liberation. It is, simply, a family chronicle, rich in homage and respect for the ilustrados' presumptions about Philippine history, not the least of which is the lie that the American imperialists came here not with a Krag but with a lesson plan and a marriage proposal.

Published in *Who*, 19 April 1980.

OPTIONS

(Review of *Mass* by F. Sionil Jose (Solidaridad Publishing House, 1979), pp. 232.)

F. SIONIL JOSE'S *MASS* is a first-person study of a university student as he he goes through the process of self-realization. Given the climate of resurgent student activism in the late sixties and early seventies, the worsening disparity between social classes, and the chief character's class consciousness, this self-realization achieves fulfillment in political terms, concretely in revolutionary peasant mass movement and armed struggle in the countryside.

Politics, to be sure, initially engages Pepe Samson, the novel's chief character, only as a subject of cynicism, on the one hand, and as a source of immediate personal gain, on the other. He regards his membership in the Brotherhood, a radical student mass organization, as a convenience which provides opportunities to ease up his financial difficulties (support from his seamstress mother from Cabugawan, Pangasinan being not just enough) as well as for wider social mobility. For him, the youth have no political role in a society where the economic/political/social structure is controlled by the ruling classes; an anti-imperialist program has no reality

in a country where hordes line up daily at the US Embassy with immigrant applications; and the poor masses, while victims of social injustice, are actually their own worst enemy, incapable of rising up in revolution or giving it leadership. More, he distrusts the leaders of the movement, especially those from so-called elite universities such as the UP and Ateneo (Pepe Samson is enrolled in one downtown university along Recto), as well as those from exclusive villages such as Pobres Park. In sum, this distrust is directed against academic intellectualism, which theorizes on poverty and idealizes the poor, and puts the whole issue to rest with a doctoral dissertation. Later, this distrust is turned into a repudiation of the presumed vanguard role of the intellectuals – *the ilustrados* – in the revolution in the light of the historical *trahison des clercs* from Aguinaldo down to the present exemplars.

If Pepe looks askance at politics, he does equally so at other ways of reforming society. For instance, he cuts short his stint in drug trafficking mixed with the more pleasurable role of *toro*, unconvinced as he is by his boss' posture of an avenging angel, a la Rizal's Simoun, to wreck the lives of the scions of the rich classes through vice. Next, he joins his Brotherhood comrade and friend, Toto, to work as an acolyte for Fr. Jess, a reformist priest who left a family fortune in Negros to serve the slum-dwellers in Tondo's Barrio Magsaysay. Pepe finds Fr. Jess' spiritual mission, which is "to build a church in the heart," as hardly a solution to the problems of a depressed community. He rejects two other options for his own personal advancement. For one whose obsessive concerns revolve around the needs of "the gonads and the stomach," a marriage with an activist from Pobres Park, Betsy de Jesus, would have been a comfortable arrangement, except that Pepe is too aware of the yawning class gap as well as of his father's (Antonio Samson) fate, who killed himself after serving as publicist for the comprador bourgeoisie and government bureaucrats whose interests his wife's family represents. Pepe Samson's other chance of improving his status (he takes Cabugawan and Tondo, after all, only as way stations), is through the offer of Juan Puñeta – a comprador bourgeois and a nationalist and intellectual poseur, with powerful connections in the government, military and business – which is for Pepe to work for him in the Brotherhood Directorate as a saboteur, that is, to gear the movement program and policies along reformist lines, to defuse class struggle and to eliminate the truly radical elements in the movement.

Pepe, provided with a situation to realize that his economic reformism falls within the scheme of the ruling classes, not only rejects Puñeta's offer; he fatally shoots Puñeta, an act of personal liberation and a statement of war against the ruling establishment.

Pepe's political education is markedly individualized, consisting of an assemblage, or an ascending gradient, of sentiment, accident, and memory, hardly a matter of book-learning (even a belated reading of his father's book, *The Ilustrados,* is done not so much as a gesture of learning from it but more as a confirmation of what he himself has already found out about the liberal bourgeois intellectuals). As long as the revolution remains on the level of debate, he keeps to his narrow empiricist viewpoint, regarding the question of social change, US imperialism, and leadership of the masses within the limited enclosure of his personal comprehension. The widening of his political horizon – informed by historical hindsight and perspective – lies in the mass movement itself. The death of Toto in a Mendiola march-demonstration, the murder of the old ex-Huk leader Ka Lucio, the "salvaging" of several student leaders, and the torture he himself undergoes in a military safehouse and city jail, prove to him the reality of a state intent on preserving its existence through counter-revolutionary violence. Toto's death starts him to assume the former's commitment ("I will live for you, then."). In another incident – a *tour de force* – he learns from Juan Puñeta the power structure of the ruling classes, their use of nationalism as cover to carry out their anti-mass political and economic designs, and their infiltration of the mass movement to waylay it from its radical course. Lastly, Pepe's recognition of the revolutionary will of the masses comes in the form of remembrance of his grandfather's (Antonio Samson's father) participation in the Colorum movement in the Thirties, the old man who gets imprisoned for hacking to death the town mayor and who dies in oblivion.

Pepe, for all his being a propagandist of the movement and a member of the Education Committee of the Brotherhood Directorate, is not an ideologue. He approaches politics not through ideas, but through direct entanglements with the social forces at work within his milieu. What he adds to politics and to life is moral dimension. From Ka Lucio, he learns the value of a revolutionary's magnanimity of spirit in carrying out rules of discipline; from his father, the courage to recover the last shreds of self-respect even if this means committing suicide; and from Prof. Hortenzo,

the self-sacrificing pursuit of goals beyond personal interests. Pepe's moral presence is not a world-denying kind but one which responds to the sensitive strains of individual lives as well as to the sensuous pleasures of body and mind, and brings to the fore the human import of event and circumstance.

Mass is F. Sionil Jose's last of the five Rosales novels. Through Pepe Samson, this novel is tied up with *The Pretenders* (1971), a study of the intellectual's betrayal of the revolutionary legacy of his people and of his own political ideals. Moreover, through Tia Nena who appears as Fr. Jess' cook, it is linked with *My Brother, My Executioner* (1979), she being the mother of Victor and Luis Asperri, brothers who have taken opposite political stands in the issue of social change in the early fifties. Thus, the past and the present meet in this last of the Rosales novels, at a critical juncture where history makes an imperative of political decision as the supreme measure of personal and political wills of individuals. *Mass* serves as a rebuke against Pepe Samson's predecessors whose early revolutionary spirit gets dissipated into endless vacillations, rationalizations, opportunism and counter-revolutionary acts. At the same time, the novel vindicates, through Pepe Samson, the dignity and heroism of those other characters who appear as powerful glimpses in the earlier novels. In this novel, F. Sionil Jose achieves the integration of class origin, personal goals and historical destiny in creating a political personage within the present revolutionary movement.

Certain matters have to be pointed out, however. In the course of delineating the development of its chief character, the novel manages to make a number of assumptions of historical consequence which, left to themselves, are bound to misrepresent the history, thrust and policies of the revolutionary movement, past and present. While these assumptions are crucial to characterization and thematic configuration of the novel, and may be explained off as properties of the limited consciousness of the characters, it is, however, essential to set aright what are distortions of historical truth. For instance, through Ka Lucio, much is made of the moral factor in the failure of the Huk uprising while no mention is made of the really decisive political factor of that failure. Second, while Pepe is supposed to be a responsible element in the movement of the sixties and early seventies (can such a movement be other than the national democratic movement?), he takes the so-called nationalist bourgeoisie

as the main target of the revolution, when in fact his description of the enemy fits that of the big comprador bourgeois class. In this connection, is the omission of "tuta" in that famous slogan, "Marcos, Hitler, Diktador, Tuta!" an attempt to slur over the crucial role of US imperialism in maintaining local puppets for its economic and military interests here? And third, there is a strong current of anti-intellectualism in the novel. On the one hand, this is rightly directed against armchair intellectuals whose ambition for leadership in the revolutionary movement is dictated primarily by elite class interests. On the other hand, there is the more pervasive form of anti-intellectualism which defines the frame of mind of the chief character, reducing political knowledge into the level of mere physicality of experience and impedimenta of subjectivist emotions. A disjunction is thus created between theory and practice as dialectical components in the revolutionary process.

Be that as it may, the novel is one of the first efforts in the literary field to capture the essential contours of our present society in ferment and certainly contributes to the Filipino people's anti-fascist struggle.

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A QUESTION OF LIBERAL BOURGEOIS INTELLECTUALS

(Review of *My Brother, My Executioner* by F. Sionil Jose (New Day Publishers, 1979.)

F. SIONIL JOSE'S *MY BROTHER, MY EXECUTIONER* is a portrait of a liberal bourgeois intellectual forced by the historical circumstances of his time, the early fifties, to make a choice between revolutionary action and reactionary reformism. With the Huk rebellion serving as the milieu for great political decisions, this intellectual, besieged by opposing loyalties, finally opts for a lost cause, the defense of ruling class interests. Historically, the armed peasant uprising, which was staged mainly in Central and Southern Luzon, suffered defeat, first due to the putschist orientation of quick military victory and second to the brutal counter-insurgency campaign of the government masterminded by the CIA agents of US imperialism. But these considerations stand outside the direct concerns of the novel; rather, it attempts to create a paradigm of political behavior among the different social classes in an era of crisis and upheaval, juxtaposing their clashing ideologies, tactics and programs for change in their violent contentions for power. The novel establishes, within this paradigm, the exemplar of revolutionary faith and action, and it is

in terms of the nobility of this exemplar that the liberal bourgeois intellectual is judged.

As a typical bourgeois intellectual, Luis Asperri, who works as editor of the magazine *Our Time*, is interested in social change, but such a one that can be accomplished through reforms utilizing the instrumentalities of government and social institutions. He believes that society offers a mechanism for mobility, that through education, poor individuals with talent can rise in the social ladder; and that the rich and the powerful become so as the result of the natural inequality of men but are, as individuals, replaceable, their fortunes subject to the wheel of change. Revolutions, he believes, are the concern of the middle class, "the enlightened bourgeoisie, himself among them," the masses being too inept and passive to lead such undertakings. He takes pride in having a direct knowledge of the peasant masses and the countryside, their "changelessness," their limited wants, their dependence on their landlords for their every need, the boring minutiae of their daily life. With this knowledge, drawn more from memory than from a careful investigation of a social class, he berates what he calls "city room revolutionaries" for entertaining an abstract faith in the masses to lead a revolution.

Under his editorship, *Our Time* has earned the ire of corrupt politicians and labor leaders and the patronage, strangely, of both Left and Right. This political ambivalence of the magazine provides its publisher, Dantes, a convenient posture. Being a business magnate in shipping, trading and communications, with vast landholdings in Negros and political connections in government, Dantes assures the conservative ruling classes of the perpetuation of the status quo while at the same time attempting to deceive the Left with his brand of progress for the country. For this latter purpose, he puts in his payroll hackwriters from the Left to peddle his reactionary ideas clothed in liberal rhetoric. Luis Asperri (a drop-out from a religious-run university in protest against the "tribunal censorum" imposed on him as editor of the school paper for writing on a Huk leader whom he came to know during the Japanese Occupation) was immediately hired by Dantes after sacking the former editor of *Our Time* for daring to form a union. Luis is one more angry young intellectual coopted by Dantes in his empire, initiating him into the world of union-busting, nationalism in the service of bureaucrat capital and the comforts of pseudo-revolutionary dilettantism.

Luis himself is the epitome of political ambivalence. This has its roots in his family history. For instance, he is the son of a big landlord, Don Vicente Asperri, to a peasant woman in Sipnget, a barrio in Rosales, Pangasinan. Having no other heir, Don Vicente claims him when he reaches high school age and brings him to Manila to study and live in his Ermita house. In Manila, Luis has carefully concealed his peasant background from society: attempting to rid himself of his past, he had declared that his mother is dead, although she continues to live in Sipnget, defiant of Don Vicente ("I can spit at his face!") and supporting the Huk movement which is then gaining strength in the countryside. Nevertheless, it is this past which, while being the source of Luis Asperri's shame, is also the driving force for his social sympathies. In his confrontations with Don Vicente and Dantes, particularly after the Sipnget massacre (the military at the time called it an "encounter") which resulted in the death of his grandfather and mental derangement of his mother, Luis takes the side of the victims – conveniently slurring over the personal elements – and castigates the two powerful representatives of the ruling classes for using force against the peasants and himself (Luis is asked to recant his story, or resign from the magazine) in their effort to preserve their interests. While these confrontations offer Luis momentary triumphs of conscience, they actually serve to provide him lessons in ruling class ideology. The autocratic ideas of Don Vicente and Dantes which Luis rebuts with sarcasm and with the language of the people's movement, are the very same ideas which he flaunts before his revolutionary half-brother, Victor.

Victor is the necessary development of the past which Luis tries to free himself from; while the past gives Victor a perspective of freedom and a course of action, Luis is ensnared in it the more he tries to release himself from its hold through self-deception, arrogance, rationalization, ennui and guilt. Victor, who has risen in the movement to become a Huk commander in Sipnget, offers Luis some way to firm up his political convictions, for, as he observes, "Although you seem to sympathize with us, you really are not for us." In an effort to mobilize him for the mass movement, Victor asks him to serve as a political instructor for the Huks, a function which some city intellectuals have accepted. Instead of responding to this, Luis makes a counter-offer, the height of bourgeois philistinism: he will send Victor back to school! When Victor asks Luis to forfeit his claim on the Rosales hacienda (Luis' other inheritances, consisting of company

stocks and real estate in Manila, would be enough for his maintenance), the latter responds by offering his brother a share in he ownership of the land. When Luis finally becomes a landlord, engrossed in introducing modern techniques in production and management, Victor, as a last gesture of brotherly love, warns him to leave the place to the peasants, who are the rightful owners. Luis, however, stubbornly clings to his inheritance, self-deceived up to the end that he is not the enemy, ironically seeking shelter under the bronze statue of a peasant in the Asperri mansion in a futile effort to defend himself from the armed peasants who are everywhere taking justice in their own hands.

Luis' failing is his mind; it is not made to resolve problems in reality but to fabricate illusions. As a poet-editor, he bathes the concrete situations of his life with the aura of the *mysterium tremendum* and therefore removes them from the realm of the answerable. His beliefs are not the result of a perspicacious practice of intelligence; they have the simplistic confidence of homilies. His unmailed letters – such is his manner of summing up his relationships with individuals – are really letters to himself, epistolary diaries that record, in a "literary" style, a sensibility forever grappling with itself and continually falling down on abstractions. His poem, "Calvaria," used as a preface to the novel, is a derivative T.S. Eliot, although he denies having read Eliot, asserting instead his preference for the more rambunctious Walt Whitman and Mayakovsky who do not influence his poetry at all. This index to a writing generation (in English) bred on "Wasteland," "Prufrock" and other mystifications of reality sums up the quality of Luis' mind, its agonizing inability to confront life's meaning on historical grounds.

My Brother, My Executioner frames its action within a year in Philippine history, with the Huk movement which reached its peak in 1950-51 serving as the crucible for the ideas, interests and goals of individuals and social classes. Although only a thin thread in the novel, this movement of the people's will to free the country from the stranglehold of US imperialism, feudalism and bureacrat capitalism links together, as by a strong twine, the past and the future of a country whose history continues to be marked by great contradictions that recurrently break out into open warfare between the ruling classes and the ruled. This is the informing background for a novel that lays bare the bankruptcy of the local ruling classes. In *My Brother, My Executioner,* Luis Asperri is betrayed by

his own indecision. In this, he belongs to a type of fictional characters which F. Sionil Jose had developed in his two other novels, such as Tony Samson in *The Pretenders* (1971) and the "I" in *Tree* (1978), all equally concerned with the uneasy mind of bourgeoisified individuals to whom the memory and judgement of a betrayed past comes with a vengeance.

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HISTORY, FATE, AND AMERICAN AID

(Review of *Without Seeing the Dawn* by Stevan Javellana (Quezon City: Alemars-Phoenix, 1976), pp 359.)

THE OPPRESSION OF THE FILIPINO MASSES in the hands of landlords and capitalists and later in the hands of the Japanese imperialist forces and their local agents is the underlying current of events that provide Stevan Javellana's 1947 novel, *Without Seeing the Dawn* (recently the basis of a television serial, *Malayo ang Umaga*) its occasions for character and narrative development, and consequently its historical value as one of the literary works to have come out after the Japanese Occupation.

The ejection of tenants from lands they have cultivated for generations, the starvation wages of cargo haulers in the city dockyards and Japanese atrocities are among the specific realities of the 1940s that throb in the novel. Drawn alongside these are the struggles of the oppressed classes, varying from clipped peasant protests to workers' strikes and armed resistance, with old women and children joining their menfolk in the fight against Japanese fascists.

Aside from engaging itself with historical circumstances, especially of a period that is noted for persistent mass uprisings in the countryside

and cities and the subsequent anti-Japanese people's war, *Without Seeing the Dawn* also consciously links itself with a vigorous social tradition in novel-writing started by Jose Rizal in his novels *Noli Me Tangere* and *El Filibusterismo*. The title of Javellana's novel is drawn from the great lines of the dying Elias in *Noli*, and the son of its leading character is named after Crisostomo Ibarra.

Despite, however, the author's utilization of history and literary tradition, both of which are sources of great political strength, *Without Seeing the Dawn* manages to be nothing more than the portrayal of a man who, whatever he does, is bound to fail, and whose narrow interests and lack of vision are out of place in a milieu of great expectations.

The leading character is Carding Suerte (Mario in the tv serial), a name meant for irony, for he is destined to be a "man of misfortune." After having decided to marry early and continue with his work in the field as a tenant instead of going to high school in the city, Carding meets his first misfortune when he and his father were ejected from the land as a result of Carding's assault on the landlord's son. The landlord's son tried to make love with Lucing, Carding's wife, a venture which has its own fascination for the latter (the tv serial settles for the stereotype of a loyal wife). From the village of Manhayang, in Panay, Carding and Lucing move to the slums of Iloilo city. Carding finds work in the dockyard as a cargo hauler and secretly plays the role of a bodyguard to a cabaret dancer, Rosing. (Later in the novel, Rosing would perform for Carding a magnificent job, that of setting afire the hotel where the Japanese soldiers take their pleasures, and consequently blowing up the ammunition dump nearby, the primary target of urban guerrilla operations.) Lucings finds out about this dalliance, prompting her to go back to Manhayang. Carding follows suit, even when a strike for higher wages is being staged by workers against the steamship companies.

Carding and Lucing once more try to look for a piece of land to work on; they find one, through a politician who is also their godfather in marriage. Before they can harvest their first crop, however, the politician, in order to raise funds for his political campaigns, has sold the land to another landlord who would not have Carding for a tenant. As if this is not enough misfortune, the dam uphill breaks down, drowning all the unharvested crops, livestock and village huts.

A new opportunity opens up for Carding, this time to work as a homesteader in Mindanao. While he is preparing to leave, the war comes. This event strikes him immediately as a means "to better his life" and so he applies for conscription. After several months of military service, which included his own ordeals in the Death March, he settles down in the village to rest. Despite the worsening enemy depradations even right in his own village, he refuses to join the local guerrilla forces, calling the struggle a "lost cause." "We do not have a chance," he explains to the villagers, comparing the enemy to a "mountain" and the resistance forces to "a small mouse."

What, then, motivates him to resume fighting after his decision never to hold the gun again? It is his having known, finally, of the death of his father and son, Crisostomo, in the hands of the Japanese soldiers while they were defending Lucing from being raped.

From hereon, the novel chronicles Carding's guerrilla exploits until he meets his death while leading a bolo battalion in a raid on an enemy camp in town.

Carding Suerte, the author posits, is "representative of the Filipino" who, like the rest of the characters of the novel, "think(s) simple thoughts and say(s) things simply. [The peasants] are very close to the soil. Their loves are vast but quiet, their hates are deathless and deep."

In the context of the historical processes which the novel makes use of as fields of action for the characters and which should thus be presumed to contribute to the shaping of their beings, what comes out as the image of the so-called representative Filipino? Carding Suerte appears to be a peasant-worker-guerrilla fighter with a narrow, individualist attitude to life, not given to reflections beyond his immediate concerns and, though moving in the panorama of history, is entirely unhistorical. The author in the first place has created him as a "man of misfortune," whose sufferings, defeat and death are all preordained by village superstitions and the line of his palm.

Carding, thrown out of the land for the first time, sums up this injustice with a feudal wisdom of resignation: "Sometimes, most of the evil and some of the good that comes our way are not of our own choosing."

As a city dockworker and union member, he entertains the idea of breaking up the strike then being waged by the union. In his mind and in his talks with a few workers to whom personal interest is uppermost

over collective gain, Carding, new in union work and unwilling to learn, takes an anti-union position: "How many persons like Vito and himself had unwillingly joined the union? Supposing those who were dissatisfied banded together and broke the strike? . . . "

This same narrow individualism is exhibited by Carding when the war comes: "Might not war put an end to his problems? . . . Might not war bring him fortune?"

A character is defined by his circumstances, changed by them even as he himself changes them. Carding Suerte forfeits this possibility, for by novelistic design he is an *idee fixe*, a man fated to suffer misfortunes, not as a result of a conscious assertion of his will in history, but as a fiat of personal fate.

This is, therefore, the great failure of the novel, the misuse of history in a story not of a "representative" Filipino, but simply of a middling who, in any other occasion, would have undergone the same process of mediocre ambition, courage and defeat.

Thus, the attempt of the author to link the novel's leading character with Elias in Rizal's *Noli* fails, for the life and death of Carding Suerte do not have the nobility and selfless dedication of an Elias whose action in his own time and place has the urgency and justice of historical necessity. Elias' final address to the future rings with the glory of freedom for his country and remembrance for those who worked and died for it. Carding's legacy is nothing more than a roll of USAFFEE emergency money for his wife.

What, therefore, is the significance, then and now, of *Without Seeing the Dawn?*

As the Author's Note indicates, the novel, originally published in 1947 in the United States, is meant for American readers right after the Second World War so that they may "understand us Filipinos better." What follows is a scenario of rural folkways and tradition, folk wisdom and superstitions, the people's strengths and weaknesses, all these subsumed under two mechanically contrived divisions of the novel, "Day" and "Night," or pre-war bliss and wartime woes.

Coming out right after the war, *Without Seeing the Dawn* is obviously meant to provide its American readers with more than just the usual stereotypes of a colonized people. It is a statement of faith in American promise of aid to Filipinos in wartime. The success of the people's own

war efforts, in fact, is premised on American aid. A peasant, while combatting Japanese propaganda, is made to speak these lines: "Aid from America will come. Salvation. Peace. We know it! Our sons tell us so. Our skies are now dark with night but tomorrow the sun will shine again." In the hills, the passwords of the guerrillas are "Washington" and "D.C."

The tv adaptation of the novel has deemed it wise to forgo such testaments of political naivete, certainly a triumph of our people's efforts at demythologizing American altruism in these parts, then and now.

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CLOSED OR OPEN: PHILIPPINE POETRY IN ENGLISH

A CERTAIN WAY of looking at some poems written by Filipino poets in English may reveal for us two modes of poetry-writing which I may be allowed to call the "closed" and the "open." By these terms, I am not really going beyond the usual dichotomies used by certain critics when they classify literary works as either "committed" or "withdrawn," "social" or "personal," "proletarian" or "bourgeois," etc. Rather, the more inclusive terms I am employing for purposes of this discussion have a way of engaging both the form of poetry and its content, since the terms themselves suggest the cohesion of these elements in the one body of a poem, which may be a closed poem, or an open poem. It is true that there may be a successful closed poem or a successful open poem, or their unsuccessful counterparts, but in making a further and more important judgment, we have to acknowledge that poem which makes a wider leap, the leap which must be taken if it is to enter into that "zone of occult instability," in the signficant phrasing of Frantz Fanon. Naturally, the poetry that aspires for, and achieves, this future prefigured in the present, or this future struggling with the present, is the open poetry. It is this act of extending the dimension of a world which the closed poetry never dares to do; it remains by and in itself, in confinement, as it were. The open poetry subjectifies-objectifies the experience of reality

moving on towards that realm of conjecture the necessity of which the reader, and history, may confirm. Its real freedom is the formalization of experience, involving individuals or masses of men in the task of defining social relationships, realigning forces, and making the will to action that renews the world. These, as I see it, are the distinctions of open poetry to which the closed poetry cannot make any claim; instead, the latter makes of reality a subjective-private world, self-enclosed, heavy with inertia, exhibiting a relaxation of style which is really an absence of resistance and not a mark of freedom. It presents vague social relationships, and its characters are given the illusion to define their own meaning in a solipsistic world.

The above assumptions may find verification in the following poems I have chosen for analysis: As closed poems – "At the little bar" by Oscar de Zuniga, "The hazards of hearing an explosion in broad daylight" by Emmanuel Torres, and "Daedalus" by Ricaredo Demetillo. As open poems – "The owl of Minerva takes flight in the evening" by Epifanio San Juan, Jr., "6 Clarius Poems" by Andres Cristobal Cruz, and "The dark spears of the hours point high" by Jose Ma. Sison.

"At the little bar" by Zuniga presents an oppressive, decayed, doomed universe. Zuniga fixes this universe in terms of a surreal-sensible framework: madness is given a location, people establish their gestures, and time moves on as usual, but nothing points towards any prospect of development; the images do not expand, they merely accumulate; motions do not confirm any movement; and time is only a change of hours, so that the coming of light only brings us back to a dark reality coiled around itself. Nothing has progressed: the image in the last line of the poem is only a variation of the image in the first.

While Zuniga allows his submerged world to unfold by itself, in an atmosphere, as it were, of lurid putrescence, Emmanuel Torres, on the other hand, brings into his poetry a clearer, detailed, daylight world already reflected through an unruffled, careful, mannered intelligence. The poem uses for its diving board a small, "outside," matter-of-fact event: " . . . it is the sound/Of builders blasting for a new homesite . . . " This sound brings in its train historical references, only for purposes of negating their significance, to "Asia's lush jungles/Gray with gun-metal . . ," "The swarm/Of hungry mouths," etc. What the poet has drawn finally from the splash is the "inner" equivalent of the "outside" source of fear, in its

reductive form but nonetheless, to the poem's character, "more terrible"; "Nothing is more terrible to recall/Than a door knob rattling as it is turned/Again, again."

In a 1968 review of Torres' poetry, I wrote the following observations which present the quality of his closed poetry: "From his poetry, one may gather an assumption that withdraws the human condition from its social-historical contexts, in which case suffering, as is dealt with in one poem, loses its yearning for redemption. This observation is supported by the poet's understanding of the function of metaphors. Violent intrusions into his well-kept world are for a while entertained as satisfying his curiosity for the 'unpredictable' but the radical change which they embody is finally established as a 'menace' or 'havoc.' Even the poet's confrontation with these elements of change does not involve a rigorous act that is called for in the face of threat but instead he examines them with a formal intelligence whose reaction is so composed that the possibilities of the metaphors are diverted towards unworthy, although allied, conclusions. The radical metaphor does not transform; instead, it appears simply as a visual configuration that does not alter the accepted structure of order. The angel that the author speaks of is static; similarly, the same passivity marks the fugitives of his poetry. They are neither the pursued nor the pursuer; they are, simply, 'lost' and it is in fact this 'lostness' that constitutes, for the poet, their charm. Their nighttime journeys, the mirror-self they look into, their purposes and actions are dressed in ambiguity and ambivalence which bring about their directionless arrivals and awkward departures, their lonely separation/separateness and their anguished sense of wrong and loss and incompleteness. Their typical gesture, waiting, is more of a stasis than an active exercise of their will. So much of narcissism is evident in this; he who waits and the object of this waiting – black sheep brother, stranger, fugitive – meet on no ground of distinction other than the identity of their lives and loves.

"Torres' poetry lies in the realm of the personal, and this is, for him, a matter of election, which means that his poetry demonstrates, not an evasion, but the recognition of inconsequence, of history. His fears, his pains, do not originate from a self reacting against definable aspects of culture, but from a private locking up of the self unto the self.

"Thus, his personal outlook, the gentility of his poetic manners towards both language and substance, are responsible for his neutrality, his

poetry premised on neutral responses to neutral situations, and what aspects of human nature may have been unravelled establish no potentialities beyond the closed circle of the private life."

Ricaredo Demetillo's long poem "Daedalus," which is about the artist-inventor in Greek mythology, runs on a time-continuum of past, present and future. In the past is traced the rise of Minoan civilization – in its physical, intellectual, legal, economic, and religious aspects – and its consequent demoralization and decline. The present shows Daedalus grown old, weighed by memories, among men indifferent to his genius, and he wishing for a future civilization – "another Cnossus" – that will have a use for him. The rhythm of the poem flows steadily, and the narrative follows the linear progression of events and expectations, but while the whole poem seems to implicate two planes of reality – the mythical and the contemporary – its support remains the Greek pillars and caryatids, so that even when the poet insists that the phenomenon is in fact our present life, he nevertheless explains the causes for this phenomenon in terms of archaic ideas unearthed from a different cultural soil. The Greek classical senses of hubris and retribution, order and anarchy, obedience and transgression are here employed to explain the rise and fall of civilizations, and there is a kind of fatedness which makes of men and societies mere objects of history. Moreover, Demetillo seems to have ignored the fact that Daedalus himself, through his inventions – the labyrinth and the wings – and through his social relationship – he drove his bright nephew to death – exhibited the sin of hubris for which other men, and societies, are punished, but not Daedalus. Faced with chaos, he devised the means of sequestration and escape. Ignored by the present, he pines for the rise of another civilization. The wish in the last line is nothing but that which has already been fulfilled in the first line of the poem.

Though the narrative form is supposed to involve a discovery of character, or its transformation, nothing of the sort happens in Daedalus, and since the poet presents him as a witness to the life of art, and thus of life itself, how purely mechanical his contributions appear to be! Therefore, Daedalus remains an archaic apparatus, never made responsible for, or involved in, any modern dilemma. On the contrary, the philosopher Bertrand Russel saw the scientist-technologist Daedalus bringing Icarus, or young humanity, into disaster. In W.H. Auden's "Musee des Beaux

Arts," which is a poetic recreation of Breughel's painting, Icarus' suffering is viewed as an instance of human indifference; in Demetillo's, Icarus is nothing but a pig-headed boy.

In the above poems, we observe several modes of stagnation which is a characteristic of closed poetry. In Zuniga, the image is non-developing; in Torres, the action is marked by passivity; and in Demetillo, the idea and the human figure remain archaic.

This lack of dynamic assertions, whether by individuals or by a whole society, stands contrary to the spirit of open poetry. Here, the individual's voice regains its virility to condemn or make demands or assurances, or social forces are identified, re-aligned and proceed to change their destinies.

In San Juan's "The owl of Minerva . . . " the personal voice of the poet provides the contour to his lines, and, assuming only the first and last letters of a non-poetic legal document of bequest, the poem rejects all the stable notions about the world although this condemnation, which is nevertheless a necessary expression of personal release, does not posit any positive means of later confrontations. In an earlier review, I have written: "The violence that governs the poems of San Juan, Jr., proposes a center that retains its wholeness amidst the fragments which derive their impact from the horror they convey about the poet's, and thereby his countrymen's, present predicament. The 'formlessness' of most of the poems (e.g., the sweeping lines, the untrimmed prosody, the images hurled pell-mell) is itself the 'form' of this violence perceived; controlled, not by the canonized categories of order, whether in life or in art, but by an intelligence that assaults precisely because it has been violated . . . . "

This breaking away of the self from the social morass, this cry to identify the self away from all petrified forms, has its anarchic ring, but bears just the same the preliminary revolutionary ardor of release, and that that society whose values have been flushed down the drain can never be at rest again. It is the implication of another world the poem does not name that the status of the rejected world is bared uncertain.

In contrast to San Juan's one-man demonstration and stone-throwing, Andres Cristobal Cruz situates a historical moment in Philippine history within the framework of a Roman metropolis. The poem is a paean to Claro M. Recto whose stand on various issues affecting our national life has the secure allegiance of the Filipino nationalists today. The poem is

descriptive-narrative, and is divided into six parts: (1) Avowal of allegiance to the mind of Clarius; (2) Anti-imperialist speeches of Clarius; (3) The intellectual as servitor and ornament in the palace; (4) The dissatisfaction of the people and the renewal of allegiance to the cause espoused by Clarius.

Here, the issues, problems, and relationships are defined, and this knowledge provides the "I" of the poem with the calm of purposeful, progressive action. In this poem, we see one fact which open poetry hazards to make – the extending of the individual consciousness beyond itself, to make a contact with a living history that can be verified, and for which is assumed a future towards which the present must move. Also, while San Juan takes the issue with society as a personal issue, almost in the spirit of vendetta, Cristobal Cruz, on the other hand, locates, through the collective character of the poem's "I," the problems at hand without hysteria, since these problems are not just problems of the individual, but of the masses of men, and that the banner to which one pays allegiance is not just a person, but a cause. Thus, in the poem, the defeat and death of Clarius, the numberless corruptions of the powers-that-be, the suffering of the people, do not presage a surrender, but instead, a strengthening of weapons for the sake of the New Republic that is yet to be. In Demetillo's last line in "Daedalus," a wishful longing is made; Cristobal Cruz's last lines express a resolve: the difference lies in the prefigured capacity to act.

In San Juan's poem, the anarchic individual condemns, in Cruz's, the committed individual makes a resolution, in Jose Ma. Sison's "The dark spears of the hours point high," the masses, bound by a decision of history, already poise their necessary act of liberation. The hand of the future is here envisaged in the present. This is the leap the poet has to assume to clarify what Fanon termed the "zone of occult instability," the leap that extends the area of historical action. The refrain on time that begins all the nine stanzas serves to hold the poem as one moment of recognition, serves also as a warning as to the inevitability of "collective expurgation and redemption." The climactic development of image and idea, the obligation to take sides, the purposive act towards human freedom – these are the distinctions of open poetry which the Sison poem illuminates.

In conclusion, I maintain that the two modes of poetry which I hope have discerned and explained correctly, are based on different, and in

fact, contrary, assumptions and apprehensions about the world, and any attempt at reconciliation, so as to produce one poem which is both closed and open, can only prove futile. One large distinction which establishes this irreconciliability lies in the directions which they pursue and which thereby shape their being: the closed poetry tends towards immobility and insulation; the open poetry, towards insurgence and freedom. This point of difference has always insisted itself, with provisions for variety or levels of behavior, in the above analysis I made of the poems. At the same time, it suggests the dangers which confront both types of poetry: closed poetry is always risking itself towards being obscure, open poetry towards being vulgar. The measure of their successes depends on how complete or fulfilled their respective worlds are, utilizing for this purpose the most efficient capabilities of form and meaning. But while this in itself is true, it is necessary to realize that these worlds, even if they may have their beginnings from the same premises, are based on opposite orientations and achieve equally opposite decisions about the nature and destiny of man. The knowledge of this difference affords the critic a means to draw the distance between one poem and another, and to make, if he recognizes its inevitability, a choice.

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